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# Liberation

PARTY'S ROLE AMONG WORKERS

## To The Working Class

—Charu Mazumdar

**T**ODAY, the masses of workers should think of the hundreds of millions of poor and landless peasants who have been exploited and oppressed for centuries and who now find their conditions unendurable. The working class can earn for itself a status of dignity in society, a status which it is entitled to as the producer of wealth, only by overthrowing the crushing burden of exploitation which is weighing down heavily upon the poor and landless peasants. Once the workers and the peasants, the producers of wealth, are united, a tremendous force will be generated. It is this powerful force that will make it possible to accomplish the people's democratic revolution, and then to establish the socialist system in India by destroying the exploiters and the system of exploitation. It is the working class that must shoulder the responsibility of realizing this possibility and must assume the leadership. The working class can fulfil this task only by grasping firmly Mao Tsetung Thought and by integrating themselves with the poor and landless peasants in the countryside and participating in the armed peasant struggle. Only thus can the working class liberate itself. This is because the working class can liberate itself only by liberating the exploited masses.

The working class struggle is a struggle for asserting its dignity and for establishing social justice. The gravest crime of the revisionists is that they try to keep the working class—the class that must lead the revolution—confined within the four walls of economic struggles. To serve the interests of their masters—the reactionary ruling class—the revisionists try to make the working class

forget that it has to shoulder its sacred task of leading the revolution.

The capitalists say to the workers: "Do not struggle." But the working class is fully aware that struggle is the law of life. That is why it is the working class that is and will continue to be in the forefront of every kind of struggle. Mao Tsetung Thought is the ideology of the working class. Therefore, it is the working class that must shoulder the responsibility of developing people's war in the countryside. The revolutionary workers can never remain passive in the face of the attacks of the capitalists. To avenge every attack of the enemy is a necessary virtue of a revolutionary. At a time when the capitalists use lock-out and closure as their weapons, general strike naturally loses much of its effectiveness. So, the working class must itself invent new tactics and find new ways of launching counter-attacks. It is the revolutionary workers who invented and developed the weapon of *gherao*.<sup>1</sup> But the revisionists have turned it into *satyagraha*.<sup>2</sup> *Satyagraha* is the wailing of the weak, and the supplication of the cowardly. This is the reason why the revolutionary workers despise *satyagraha*.

The worker does not fear to face death, and has never lagged behind in making sacrifices. The road to win victory in the revolution is paved with the sacrifices made by hundreds of thousands of people. The working class as the leader of the revolution should set new, glorious examples of making sacrifice. The Indian workers have laid down many lives for the cause of India's liberation, and have a glorious history of innumerable struggles. The working

1. *Gherao* (literally means "to encircle") is a militant form of worker's struggle in which the capitalists and the bureaucrats are forcibly kept confined to make them concede the workers' demands. It is now widely used by the toiling people and students all over India.

2. A reactionary form of struggle introduced by Gandhi; the people taking part in it are forbidden to use any kind of force against the enemy and are required to remain passive and non-violent in the face of counter-revolutionary violence.

class has always marched ahead along the path crimson with the blood of martyrs. It is only because the revisionists diverted the working class from this path that hundreds of millions of the Indian people are still suffering under the crushing weight of cruel exploitation and oppression.

Today the Indian working class, armed with the weapon of Mao Tsetung Thought, has become invincible. The liberation of the vast millions of the Indian people is near. The peasant revolutionary struggle is already raging in the countryside. Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the poor and landless peasants are setting new glorious examples of sacrifice and developing people's war in various States of India. This revolutionary war waged by the poor and landless peasants is striking at the foundation of the system of exploitation, and the entire structure built on this foundation is tottering. Stricken with panic the ruling class is at its wit's end, and a fierce dog-fight is going on among its members in order to save their own skin. The anger of the masses is bursting forth throughout the vast expanse of India, and they have become vocal in their hatred for the ruling class.

In this excellent revolutionary situation that now prevails in India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) calls upon the working class: Let hatred for the exploiters burn fiercely in your hearts; wake up to your responsibility; set examples as befits you, who are the vanguard of revolution; rally under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—the Party of the working class; march resolutely forward along the path of struggle. Victory certainly belongs to us!

Thrown into confusion by severe crises U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are trying to get out of them by launching aggression against the great socialist China. They are out to turn India into their base for this aggression. They will not only impose the crushing burden

of their war of aggression against China on the 500 million Indian people, but will also use the Indian people as their cannon-fodder. If U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism succeed in launching aggression against China, a great responsibility will fall on the shoulders of India's working class. The working class of India will then fulfil its glorious role and bury imperialism and social-imperialism in the soil of India by developing the revolutionary war that is now raging. Then, the system of imperialist exploitation will be destroyed throughout the world and the conquest of the world by socialism will become a reality.

Chairman Mao himself is the great helmsman directing this great affair of world revolution. And it is he who has given the call to prepare for waging revolutionary war, and destroying the imperialist system. In response to this stirring call the working class in various countries of the world is advancing to struggle. There can be no doubt that the working class of India will march forward alongside the workers of the rest of the world in fulfilling the most sacred task of mankind. It is Chairman Mao who is personally directing this war. Hence, victory certainly belongs to us!

## Our Party's Tasks Among the Workers

—Charu Mazumdar

[At a recent meeting of Party comrades who are working among the workers Comrade Charu Mazumdar laid down the tasks before them. We publish below the notes taken at the meeting. The notes are approved by Comrade Charu Mazumdar.—Editor, *Liberation*]

**P**ARTY is the organization of the workers to overthrow the class enemy by fighting offensive battles, while the trade union is their organization to fight defensive battles against the attacks of the class enemy. But, today, it is not possible for them to defend themselves with the trade union organization. Hence, it is not our task either to organize trade unions, or to bring them under our control, or to bother ourselves about the trade union elections. Our task is to build secret Party organization among the workers.

But the trade unions are there and they will continue to exist and their leadership will continue to be mainly in the hands of the revisionists. Moreover, struggles will continue to take place through the trade unions, and, since workers are by their very nature fighters, they will participate in these struggles also. Even though he knows that today, victory in the trade union struggle is not assured, and that the revisionists will betray him, still he will participate in these struggles. We can never oppose any struggle of the workers against their class enemy. Such opposition is an expression of idealist petty bourgeois thinking. We shall not make the workers dependent on us for their struggles for economic demands or against any attack of the capitalists; we should inspire them with revolutionary

politics so that they take initiative independently. We should never make the workers mere followers of our Party cadres, nor jump in to lead them.

We should not prevent the workers from organizing trade unions where there is none. The trade union struggles will be carried on by the ordinary workers and our Party cadres should not involve themselves in such struggles. The task of our cadres is to propagate revolutionary politics and build secret Party organization. Once we are able through this work to create confidence among the ordinary workers and help them take initiative, individuals from among them will come forward to give competent leadership in trade union struggles also and fight the revisionists even in that sphere. This is not only desirable but also possible. But we should keep watch over them also and if we find any revisionist tendency in them we should make other workers criticise them. The Party cadres, however, should never involve themselves in such struggles. If anyone thinks that the workers may become distrustful of the Party cadre because he avoids taking responsibility directly on himself but only encourages the workers to advance to struggle themselves, then it must be said that the person who thinks like this has no experience whatsoever of the nature of the workers.

In this respect we must keep in mind two things relating to the Party. First, if and when any local Party unit considers it necessary to oppose any strike or hartal called or organized by the revisionists, it must inform the higher Party committee about this and the final decision in this respect can be taken by the higher committee alone. Secondly, a time may come or an occasion may arise when we may have to oppose a general strike called by the revisionists. Only the Central Committee of the Party, and none else, is competent to take decision in such cases.

In short, we certainly cannot foster any anti-struggle

attitude among the revolutionaries and the workers in the name of fighting the revisionists because that will be disastrous.

While we should encourage the workers in any struggle they wage we must, nonetheless, constantly explain to them that, today, the weapons like hartals and strikes have become largely blunted in dealing with the attacks of the organized capitalist class (such as lock-out, lay-off, closure etc.) Today, the struggles can no longer develop peacefully or without bloodshed. To develop, the struggles must take the forms of gherao, clash with the police and the capitalists, barricade fights, annihilating the class enemies and their agents etc. according to the given conditions. The revisionists are turning gherao into satyagraha; we must turn gherao into what it really is so that it can strike terror into the hearts of the capitalists. This will create tremendous enthusiasm among the workers, and thus bring about a high tide of enthusiasm among them and their solidarity will grow at an accelerated tempo. The working class, through such actions will then invent newer ways of waging struggle. The Party will not invent them for the workers but will give the workers revolutionary politics and it is they who, with the help of this politics will themselves invent them. In fact, the workers' struggle in India will continue for some time on these two lines: one, on the conventional line under the leadership of the revisionists; and, two, on the new line under the leadership of our Party until finally, the new line ceases to be new any more and establishes itself permanently and firmly.

In spite of its revisionist leadership the Indian working class has built some kind of workers' unity through numerous bloody battles. But, today, the revisionists are breaking even that unity by setting one section of the workers against another and are shamelessly parading this dirty crime of theirs as a sacred political task. As a result,

our Party has to shoulder a heavy responsibility, the responsibility of building up the revolutionary unity of the workers. This unity can be built by gradually developing the new line while not rejecting the old line. Moreover, we must lay stress on solidarity actions.

We must be particularly concerned about organizing demonstrations or other kinds of movements in support of the workers wherever and in whatever enterprises they are attacked. It is irrelevant to consider what kind of leaders are leading them or to which party the workers of the affected union owe allegiance. The revolutionary workers must never involve themselves in fighting the other workers because some revisionist slogans are raised by the latter in their demonstration. It may happen during a solidarity movement that the revisionist leadership of a union in which there are workers who are with us, is refusing to give the call for struggle even when that union is under attack. In such a situation the Party Committee should, on its own initiative, organize struggle, such as, demonstration, even if it can rally only a very small number of workers for this purpose, though we generally do not organize demonstrations unless we can mobilize at least a thousand or so workers. Especially when any police repression takes place against the students we must organize workers' demonstrations in support of them even if we can mobilize only 100 or even less, say 15 or 20 workers for this purpose. In a situation like this we must be prepared to clash with the police if necessary. It is also imperative to organize solidarity movements to resist the attacks of the ruling class against the other oppressed classes or sections of the society. The workers can rid themselves of their self-interest through such solidarity movements which make them conscious of their responsibility as the leader of the other oppressed classes. The revolutionary working class movement is an international movement. So, the working class must organize solidarity

movements on various international issues as well. For instance, it is absolutely indispensable for the workers to organize solidarity movements now, against the anti-China war plots.

But in working on this new line the Party cadres must firmly grasp the revolutionary politics; otherwise, they may commit a serious deviation, namely, to concentrate on the militant workers' struggle in the cities and withdraw from the struggle in the countryside, and thus to blunt the edge of the Party's ideological and propaganda campaign. So, the working class struggle in the cities may easily degenerate into militant economic struggle if we start the struggle on the new line without firmly grasping the politics. In fact, this is the reason why the central leadership of the Party did not lay down this new line before the comrades earlier. Now that the Party comrades have gained some experience through political work and our political propaganda rests on fairly strong basis, that this line is being laid down. Even as we do it we must remain very alert against this danger.

Our propaganda work among the workers still suffers from some shortcomings. This is why though the majority of the most conscious and most militant workers are under our influence very few among them are coming forward to join the peasant armed struggle in the rural areas. This is due to the fact that in many cases we try to inspire the workers to participate in revolutionary work by holding out before them the prospect of future economic gains. For example, they are told that their material hardships can be put an end to only when the agrarian revolution is completed. The first thing that can be said about it is that this is false. Because, after the revolution the worker will have to undergo a long period of hardship in the broad interests of the country, the people and the revolution, and also because he is the leader of the revolution. Secondly, instead of

winning over the worker to the politics of revolutionary sacrifice it instils in them the revisionist politics of self-aggrandizement so that he feels inclined to remain in the city merely as a passive supporter of the agrarian revolutionary struggle rather than going to the countryside prepared to sacrifice his all and integrating himself with the peasant in order to participate in the rural revolutionary struggle. But if we bring the revolutionary politics directly to the worker the result will be immediate; and we must do exactly this.

There is one more thing that we have failed to do—we do not rouse in the worker his sense of dignity. The worker, irrespective of his party affiliation, carries in his breast a burning sense of indignity for having to slave away for the capitalist. Because it is he, the worker, who produces everything with his own hands and yet has to suffer the indignity of the capitalists and the bureaucrats lording it over him. Now, once we are able to rouse his sense of dignity by giving him the revolutionary politics it would be easier for him to smash the trammels of economism that hold him down now, and then he would become a terror to the capitalist with his daring and boldness. He would not only rid himself of his fear of losing his job but would also conquer the fear of death. If he loses his job in upholding his dignity he would either become a good Party organizer in the city or go to the countryside to join the peasant revolutionary struggle.

Once the worker in the city is inspired with the revolutionary politics he would become fierce and start militant struggles at first in the industrial areas and may even start killing class enemies and their agents. But since Mao Tsetung Thought would make it clear to him that the peasants are fighting his battle for the seizure of political power in the countryside where the enemy is weak, he would go to the countryside to join that battle. Our Party

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## Introductory Remarks to the Article “Pay Attention to Methods of Work”

—Charu Mazumdar

This introduction by comrade Charu Mazumdar was published in the Bengali weekly DESHABRATI, January 22, 1970, along with a Bengali translation of the article “Pay Attention to Methods of Work” (Peking Review, November 14, 1969)

—Editor, LIBERATION

Chairman Mao Tsetung has personally led the great Communist Party of China for the last forty years. He has taught us that victory is not assured only by adopting a correct policy; wrong tactics in implementing the correct policy will lead to results contrary to our expectations. Therefore, we need not only a correct policy but also a correct method of work. After a correct policy is worked out the main stress should be laid on adopting a correct method of work.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao the Communist Party of China has adopted after many experiments a method of work which guarantees victory. This method of work went through a severe test during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The 700 million Chinese people have realized the effectiveness of that method of work. After the historic Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, basing themselves on this method of work, are now engaged in the struggle to achieve still broader unity and win still greater victories, and are winning one new victory after another in this struggle. The great Communist Party of China has formulated this method of work and published it [see *Liberation*, No. 3, January, 1970].

We also must not only adopt this method of work but also try our utmost to follow it in practice in order to make progress in our struggle and win victory. This is because we have built a new party and worked out a new policy and launched our struggle with this party and this policy, and because it is indisputable that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China which has international significance, is influencing the Indian revolution also. The members, cadres and sympathisers of our Party should conscientiously study this method of work and follow it in practice.

### Our Party's Tasks Among the Workers

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organizations should initiate and promote struggles on this line.

There is another grave shortcoming in our political propaganda work, namely, that generally we do not help the workers read the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*. We are diffident about letting the workers get a copy of this book. However, we are sure to get wonderful results once we put our reliance on the natural revolutionary consciousness of the workers and provide him with a copy of this book.

## A Few Words to the Revolutionary Students And Youths

[ At a recent meeting of the revolutionary students and youths Comrade Charu Mazumdar laid down before them their present tasks. We publish below the notes taken at that meeting. The notes are approved by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. —Editor, *Liberation* ]

### Learn to Propagate Common Ideas In Identical Language

Train yourselves in learning by heart and in propagating in toto and in identical language whatever the central leadership of the Party says directly or through the Party organs. This is the method of propaganda introduced into the great Communist Party of China by our Chairman on the basis of the experience gained in forty years of struggle. Otherwise, the tendency to have 'many-centres' may gradually grow within the Party.

### Leave Your Schools and Colleges and Plunge Into the Revolutionary Struggle

The boys and girls in our country are brought up through the educational institutions in a way that they look down upon the poor masses of workers and peasants, respect everything concerning the imperialist powers, and become lackeys or agents of these powers. Moreover, in a man's life the age between eighteen and twenty-four is the period when he can work hardest and can be most vigorous, most courageous and most loyal to his ideas. But the students and youths of this age group in our country are forced to pursue anti-people courses of study and try to pass examinations. This is why Chairman Mao has said that the more you read the more foolish you become. It will give me the greatest pleasure if you plunge



yourselves into the revolutionary struggle here and now instead of wasting your energy in passing examinations. When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in China the Chinese youths and students also gave up their schools and colleges and universities. The educational institutions there began to function again after about two years in 1968, that is, when the Cultural Revolution was victorious.

**Revisionism Is the Greatest Danger In This Era :  
Once Defeated It Reappears In New Form**

In joining the revolutionary struggle the very first thing you should understand is that revisionism is the main danger in the world today. Even when suffering defeats one after another revisionism does not relent but continues to launch new attacks in different ways. This is particularly true after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. You should, therefore, study Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's Political Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China over and over again. When you do this you will understand that revisionist renegades like Asit Sen, Nagi Reddy and company play their dirty role in every country and use the same tactics according to the stage of development of the communist movement.

In our country also revisionism launched its first attack by using economist slogans after the Co-ordination Committee was formed. The forming of our Party in 1969 signified the victory of the revolutionary struggle against this revisionist attack. However, after the forming of the Party revisionism has again launched its attack both from the Right and from the Left.

**Doubtism Is Another Name of Revisionism Today**

Today, revisionism is even using ultra-Left facade to spread its poison. It is doing this in a manner so as to

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## NOTES

**PRESIDENT'S RULE—THE OLD GAME  
OF REACTION AND REVISIONISM**

That stinking corpse of the United Front in West Bengal now lies buried and President's rule has been imposed—for the second time in about two years.

What has driven to the grave the much-vaunted revisionist-led United Front? What has shattered the political 'stability' and spelt the doom of parliamentarism in this State? What has forced the revisionists of various hues and their fellow-travellers to quit the ministerial offices?

When the Congress Party, the main political party of the ruling classes, could no longer hoodwink the masses, the reactionaries and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters pinned all their hopes on the revisionist-led United Front. Their authentic voice could be heard when, just a year ago, Krishna Menon declared at a public meeting at New Delhi: "*The success of the West Bengal U. F. Government will be a turning point in the history of our country.*" (*Patriot*, 14. 3. 1969). A little later, that revisionist chieftain Namboodiripad hailed the U. F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala as the "*vanguard of the emerging alternative*" and proposed the formation of a United Front on the all-India level. As late as October last year Jyoti Basu, reaction's well-groomed lackey, wrote in a special supplement to the *London Times*, the mouth-piece of the British imperialists: "...there is no doubt that the establishment and functioning of the United Front Governments in two Indian states, in which a leading part is played by the communists, has had a significant impact on the political psychology of the Indian people. *Vast masses of the people look upon these two governments to set the pattern for other states in India and to provide an alternative to*

*the monopoly rule of the Congress Party.*" (*Times*, 13.10.1969). The Dangeites were even more ecstatic about the virtues of the counter-revolutionary United Front.

When armed revolution faces armed counter-revolution, the revisionist-led United Front has performed its role as the last reserve of the ruling classes, as "the vanguard of the emerging alternative" to the Congress Party. Various are the diabolical means by which it has tried to fulfil its one aim—the aim of providing political stability to the crumbling rule of oppression and exploitation and of disrupting and destroying the revolutionary forces. The crimes of the revisionists who led the United Front are legion. In this excellent revolutionary situation they have been peddling the parliamentary path; they have been preaching the sanctity of existing law and order and upholding the Indian Constitution<sup>1</sup>, the weapon devised by the imperialists and their reactionary Indian lackeys to perpetuate their oppressive rule; they have deliberately, systematically sabotaged all militant struggles of the working class, stopped gheraos or turned them into harmless *satyagrahas*. Whenever revolutionary peasants have risen arms in hand to smash their feudal fetters—in Naxalbari, Debra, Gopiballavpur and other places—the revisionists have not hesitated to use the reactionary state machinery to put down the struggles of the brave peasants with fire and sword. They have thrown into prison and tortured hundreds of peasants, set up scores of armed police camps in the villages, issued orders to the police to shoot at sight the leaders of the revolutionary peasants and burnt down the peasants' huts. They have launched this war against the heroic peasants in perfect collusion with the

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1. Those who may think that we are unjustly accusing the revisionists of upholding the Constitution may refer, among other things, to Jyoti Basu's reply to Ajoy Mukherjee, where that arch revisionist categorically says: "The Constitution is always to be upheld." (*Statesman*, 25.1.70)

## U.S. Pilotless Reconnaissance Plane Shot Down Over South China

**A** U.S. imperialist military pilotless high-altitude reconnaissance plane was shot down by a heroic air defence unit of the navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the afternoon of February 10, when the plane intruded into the air space over the area of Hainan Island in Kwangtung province to carry out reconnaissance and provocative activities.

It was the 20th U. S. imperialist military pilotless high-altitude reconnaissance plane shot down by the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army since 1964.

This victory has been won in the excellent situation as the people throughout the country, rallying still more closely around the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as the deputy leader, are using Chairman Mao's great strategic concepts of "heighten our vigilance defend the motherland" and, "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" to step up struggle-criticism-transformation, and are fulfilling in a better and faster way the fighting tasks set forth by the Ninth Party Congress. This is another new victory won by the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the fight to safeguard the great socialist motherland by persistently giving prominence to proletarian politics, carrying out the "four-good" requirements in an all-round way and strengthening its fighting power.

On February 11, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued an order commending a naval air defence unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army which shot down a U. S. imperialist military pilotless high-altitude reconnaissance

plane over the Hainan Island area, Kwangtung province, on February 10.

The order points out that the P. L. A. naval air defence unit shot down the plane at a time when the hundreds of millions of army-men and people of the country have entered the great 1970's with militant pride. This shows that the unit has followed Chairman Mao's great teaching **"heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland"**, is well prepared against war and is highly skillful in combat. The battle was well fought! It was a punishment to U.S. imperialism and a great inspiration to the people throughout the country. Hence the order of commendation.

The order says: "We hope you will hold the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought still higher, energetically give prominence to proletarian politics, develop the 'four-good' company movement in deep-going way, make further efforts to carry out Chairman Mao's great principle **'be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people'**, raise your revolutionary vigilance a hundredfold, be ready at all times and improve your military skills. If U. S. imperialism and social-imperialism dare to launch a war of aggression against our country, we will wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."

(*Hsinhua* dispatch, February 12, 1970)

## Fighters Armed With Mao Tsetung Thought Are Invincible

THE "Voice of Malayan Revolution" radio recently broadcast an article warmly praising the brilliant victory by a detachment of the Malayan National Liberation Army in an ambush near Kroh under extremely difficult conditions. Analysing the causes of the victory, the article pointed out: "There may be thousands of experiences, but the most important one is to study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way."

The successful ambush by a detachment of the heroic Malayan National Liberation Army took place on June 17, 1968. It resulted in an important victory in which an entire enemy platoon was wiped out near Kroh, an important military post of the British imperialist-Rahman clique in northern Perak State.

The article said: On the eve of the glorious festival of the 20th anniversary of the Malayan People's National Liberation War Against British Imperialism (June 20, 1968), the enemy launched frenzied attacks on the Malayan National Liberation Army base areas. All the commanders and fighters in the detachment who were doing mass work at the time in the rural areas were determined to repulse the enemy's wild onslaught and greet the 20th anniversary with victory in battle.

Most of the fighters in the detachment were recruits, many of them women. They had had no regular military training and no battle experience. Moreover, their weapons and equipment were rather inadequate.

To overcome these difficulties and defeat the enemy, the detachment's command, carrying out the instructions

from above, took firm hold on the study of Chairman Mao's works before the battle so as to arm the fighters with Mao Tsetung Thought and strengthen their confidence in overcoming difficulties and seizing victory. The command conscientiously organized the fighters to study Chairman Mao's three brilliant works: *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, and quotations from Chairman Mao on people's war, the people's army, revolutionary heroism and other subjects over and over. Sometimes they held discussions and forums and set up wall newspapers to carry the fighters' writings on what they had learnt from their study. All this helped them firmly imbue themselves with the revolutionary heroic spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and cultivate the lofty quality of serving the people wholly and entirely.

Through their study, the fighters greatly strengthened their determination to fight, increased their confidence in victory and found more and more ways of overcoming their difficulties. On the basis of their heightened political consciousness, the fighters were unafraid of hardship or fatigue and engaged in a vigorous military training movement on rubber plantations.

The article said that the first shot of the Kroh battle was fired at 5:45 p.m. on June 17. Following closely behind their commanders, both men and women fighters swooped down on the enemy from the hill like tigers, charging fiercely and striking hard and quickly silencing an enemy machine-gun. The crafty enemy tried to counter-attack, but, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and bringing their spirit of revolutionary heroism and fearlessness of sacrifice into full play, the fighters swiftly closed in on the enemy troops and pointed their guns straight at their chests. Badly frightened, the enemy troops put up their hands and surrendered. The M.N.L.A. fighters who were wounded in the engagement all refused

to fall back from the frontline. They persisted in the fighting until the battle ended victoriously.

The article pointed out that the victory of the Kroh ambush most vividly showed that so long as they give prominence to politics and conscientiously study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, armed forces with inferior weapons and equipment can defeat an enemy equipped with modern weapons, and that new fighters without battle experience can fight magnificently. The living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought enables the fighters to display the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and to fight bravely in battle and batter the enemy.

The victory of the Kroh ambush was won by relying on Mao Tsetung Thought. It not only dealt the enemy a heavy blow militarily, it also provided extremely valuable experience for the Malayan National Liberation Army in its building, training and combat, the article said.

The General Headquarters of the Malayan National Liberation Army has called on the commanders and fighters of the whole army to learn from this detachment and study its experience in putting politics in command, combining theory with concrete practice and studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, more and more detachments like this one will certainly come to the fore in the heroic Malayan National Liberation Army and carry the armed struggle forward and win new and greater victories, the article concluded.

( From *Peking Review*, No. 3, January 16, 1970 )

## The Indian People Are Bound to Smash the Iron Fetters

The PEOPLE'S DAILY published on February 7 an article by the poor and lower-middle peasant commentators' group of Chacchiachun Brigade of the Chingyuntian People's Commune in Tahsing county, Peking. The article reads in full as follows :

**R**ECENTLY the Indian press has revealed that the state of Rajasthan, India, has been struck by famine for several years in succession and that the people have to subsist on lana seeds, herbs and bark which "have no nutritive value". Everywhere in the state "is a stretch of desert" and "the spectre of hunger stalks hundreds of villages", "giving the whole area a spectral look". In fact, Rajasthan is far from being the only state hit by famine. It was reported that serious famine broke out in 9 of the 16 states of India in 1969. Even in the so-called "granary of West Bengal", West Dinajpur district, "the food crisis turns from bad to worse". In Maharashtra state with a population of 40 million, there are 3.2 million beggars. The broad masses of the Indian labouring people have been plunged into an abyss of suffering.

The famine has been brought about completely by the reactionary Congress government, which represents the interests of the Indian big landlords and big bourgeoisie and which has hired itself out to U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, living on their alms. By the end of February 1969, the Indian government had incurred foreign debts as high as 12,960 million U.S. dollars and was unable to pay the interest, far less the principal. Tailing behind U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, the reactionary Congress government has been frenziedly opposing China and carrying out arms expansion and war preparations, resulting in drastic increases in military spending. In fiscal 1969-1970, its military budget amounts to 11,100

million rupees, or one third of the total budget. The reactionary Indian government did not scruple to sell out national sovereignty in exchange for "aid" from the imperialists. A striking example is its offer of a navy base to social-imperialism for aggression and expansion in the Indian Ocean. To repay its foreign debts and to cope with its huge military spending, the reactionary Congress government has been intensifying its oppression and exploitation of the Indian people, thus bringing about increasingly serious political and economic crises.

In India today, just as pointed out by the great leader Chairman Mao, "**these contradictions and their intensification must inevitably result in the incessant growth of revolutionary movements.**" Where there is oppression, there is resistance, and where there is exploitation, there is struggle. Three years ago, the storm of revolution in Naxalbari, Darjeeling district, West Bengal, kindled the raging flames of revolutionary armed struggle in India. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), vanguard of the Indian working class, has come into being in the struggle. The Indian revolutionaries under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) have summed up the experience of the Indian revolution. They have seen through the reactionary nature of "peaceful transition" and "parliamentary road" peddled by the Indian revisionists; they have grasped the great truth that "**political power grows out of the barrel of a gun**", resolutely aroused the peasants to launch revolutionary armed struggle, and embarked on the road of seizing political power by armed force, steadily pushing the revolution forward. The peasants' armed struggle in Srikakulam is a bright banner inspiring the Indian people to carry forward their revolution. At present, the peasants' armed struggle has spread to 8 of the 16 states of India. The flames, started from tiny sparks, are developing into a prairie fire. The development of the revolutionary armed struggle has

brought tremendous hope to the Indian people for their liberation.

The history of the Chinese revolution has proved that only by following the road of seizing political power by armed force can the oppressed and exploited nations and people achieve emancipation. Under the reactionary Kuomintang rule in old China before liberation, "weeds choked hundreds of villages, men wasted away; thousands of households dwindled, phantoms sang with glee." Everywhere in the country, the labouring people were groaning in misery. Take our brigade for example. Before liberation, our land was low and alkaline and the annual grain yield per mou (one fifteenth of a hectare) was less than 50 kilograms. Oppressed heavily by the imperialists, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the landlord class, the broad poor and lower-middle peasants eked out a wretched livelihood the year round on herbs and barks and by begging. It was only by seizing political power by armed force under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party that we Chinese people are able to enjoy a happy life today. Our brigade can now guarantee consistently high yields in years of drought or excessive rains and grain output per mou is eight to nine times that before liberation. From our own experience, we deeply understand the truth pointed out by our great leader Chairman Mao that **"the fundamental question of revolution is political power. To have political power is to have all, to lose it is to lose all"**.

Our hearts are linked with the hearts of the labouring people of India. The Indian people are fighting heroically to smash the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. We firmly support their just struggle!

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in 1927 that the peasant movement in our country was **"like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however [great, will be able to hold it back.**

**They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation"**. At present, the situation of the Indian revolution is excellent. The woe-stricken peasants of India are awakening and rising up in struggle. The revolutionary peasant movement in India is on the upsurge. All the imperialists, social-imperialists, feudalists and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists can never stamp out the flames of struggle of the Indian people; a new India of the people is bound to appear in the east!

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## “Long Live Chairman Mao!”

— Revolutionary foreign friends who visited Shaoshan, the Ching kang Mountains and Yen an warmly praise the great leader Chairman Mao

GROWING numbers of revolutionary foreign friends in recent years have journeyed thousands of miles to come to China to visit Shaoshan, the Ching kang Mountains and Yen an and learn from the experience of the Chinese revolution which was led by Chairman Mao.

### Hearts of World's Revolutionary People Turn to Sacred Places of Revolution

Wanting to visit China very much, a friend in Latin America boarded a plane in his first attempt to come, but he was immediately dragged off by the reactionaries. In his second attempt, he first tried going to another country by car but was seized by the reactionaries midway and was jailed for more than a month. All this, however, only added to his desire to visit China.

Fearing neither imprisonment nor death, he got across the border and into a neighbouring country after travelling 25 days on foot and thereby broke through the reactionaries' tight blockade. He then began his long trip and finally arrived in China. Upon being able to go to the Ching kang Mountains after getting to China, he told his Chinese comrades in a voice filled with emotion: "I've risked my life to come here to learn how to take the road of the Ching kang Mountains. I will turn the revolutionary spirit of the Ching kang Mountains that has been fostered by Chairman Mao himself into my revolutionary actions."

A group of Indian friends arrived in China after getting over innumerable difficulties. As soon as they met some Chinese comrades, they shouted in great elation: "Mao Tsetung!" "Mao Tsetung!" On their visit to the

Ching kang Mountains, they ignored the wind and rain and walked to the five main mountain passes where there had been sentry posts along the path Chairman Mao had used in the past to learn from the experience of the Chinese revolution. They said: "We have been resolute, feared no sacrifice and surmounted every difficulty to find this revolutionary road which Chairman Mao has opened up for us."

Some Laotian friends were most excited after visiting the Ching kang Mountains. At Taching Village, they carved on an evergreen tree the following words: "The Laotian people cherish profound love for Chairman Mao, their hearts turn to the Ching kang Mountains."

Ending their visit to Yen an, a group of friends from Thailand wanted to leave a remembrance to express their boundless love for Chairman Mao. After talking it over, they all agreed that the best way to show their feelings was to write the slogan: "Long live Chairman Mao!" They wrote the big shining red words in the Thai language "Long live Chairman Mao!" on the cliff in front of the meeting place at Yangchailing where the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China had been held.

One Pakistan friend was deeply moved when he saw the oil lamp used by the great leader Chairman Mao in his former residence in Tzeping in the Ching kang Mountains and listened to the guide tell how, by the light of this same lamp, Chairman Mao wrote the brilliant work *The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains*. As he read this article by the side of this lamp, this friend from Pakistan looked at the lamp again and again. After going back to the guest house, he wrote a poem praising the revolutionary road of the Ching kang Mountains.

### "Create a New World With Guns"

Many revolutionary foreign friends have a more profound understanding of Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" after going to Shaoshan, the Ching kang Mountains and Yen an.

After visiting the Ching kang Mountains, a South American friend said: "Chairman Mao teaches us that **"the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution."** Our visit has helped us understand this truth better. The people of Latin America must follow this path."

A friend from Central America said: "Chairman Mao's thinking on army building, which took form during the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains, is most instructive to us. It enables us to realize that to achieve victory in our revolution, we must have guns. First of all, we must build a revolutionary political party armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, a party which will lead the armed struggle and command the guns."

At a sentry post in Huangyangchieh in the Ching kang Mountains, a friend from Thailand, after hearing the guide tell how the Red Armymen by applying Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking on people's war had fully mobilized the masses, relied on them and, supported by the broad masses and with a force of less than one battalion had repulsed the repeated attacks of four enemy regiments to win great victory in the battle to defend Huangyangchieh, said elatedly: "They fought well, very well!" Pulling up a few small pine saplings from the slope alongside the sentry post and putting them carefully into his bag, he said excitedly: "They are pine saplings from the place where the Chinese Red Army, together with the people of the Ching kang Mountains, defeated the enemy. I will take them to my country so that the green pines of the Ching kang Mountains will take root in the soil of my motherland."

After arriving in the Ching kang Mountains, a group of Latin American friends stayed in a peasant home at Taching Village. At their request, veteran Red Armymen and former insurrectionary detachment members told them about the many successful battles by surprise which the

Red Army, the insurrectionary detachments and red guards fought under the leadership of Chairman Mao. When they left, the villagers presented each guest with a pair of straw sandals like those the Red Armymen had worn, a bamboo spike which had been used in the battle defending Huangyangchieh and the brilliant booklet *The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains* by Chairman Mao. The Latin American friends were highly excited when they received these souvenirs. One of them said: "When we look at these presents while we are fighting, we will think of Chairman Mao and the Ching kang Mountains and will be more resourceful and courageous and be able to defeat the enemy."

Another group of Latin American friends went to the Museum On the Founding of the Revolutionary Base by Chairman Mao in the Ching kang Mountains. With deep feeling, they gently ran their hands over the spears and big swords used in the peasant movement led by Chairman Mao in the Ching kang Mountains. They asked for many details concerning the armed struggle in the Ching kang Mountains. Listening attentively, one of them said: "It's true that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. To make revolution, we must follow the teachings of Chairman Mao and create new political power with guns." At dawn the next day, these Latin American friends set out to visit Maoping in Ning kang along the path Chairman Mao had travelled over. Though there was a heavy rain that afternoon, they went on foot in straw sandals to Puyun Mountain where Chairman Mao had given Red Armymen political and military training. One friend said: "Chairman Mao was here training the Red Armymen to wipe out the reactionaries and seize political power. We will also take up guns to make revolution and create a new world with guns."



### Integrate Mao Tsetung Thought With Concrete Revolutionary Practice in Their Own Countries

Visits to Shaoshan and other places have fired many revolutionary foreign friends with a strong desire to study and disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought and integrate it with the concrete practice of the revolution in their countries in order to push the revolution forward. Back in his own country after the first of his two visits to the Ching kang Mountains, one Latin American friend quit his job and took on the work of distributing Chairman Mao's works. He said: "Essentially, what our country lacks is Mao Tsetung Thought. I have given up my job because I consider it very important to spread Mao Tsetung Thought." He smiled as he said: "For our country, the Ching kang Mountains are specially important. Although the last time I was here I spent five days studying, it was not long enough and I wanted to come back and make another study tour." Every place he visited, he studied, and after just a few days his thick notebook was full with notes with only two blank pages when he left. Pointing to it, he thanked his Chinese comrades for "giving me Mao Tsetung Thought—the weapon for fighting."

"It is most sacred and glorious to work at distributing Chairman Mao's works, which contain the truths of revolution," said one young Japanese. His work in Japan was the distribution of Chairman Mao's works and he said this while visiting Shaoshan. Besides going to Chairman Mao's former residence and the exhibition hall in Shaoshan he made a special trip to the Hsinhua Book Store in Shaoshan and had a cordial talk with the workers there. He told the comrades there how he had been persecuted and attacked by the reactionaries many times for distributing Chairman Mao's works. But this had not shaken his conviction in the least. Before leaving Shaoshan, he took two small hard pebbles as souvenirs, saying: "They are the hardest because they are from Shaoshan!"

Bearing in mind that the peasants of India, who make up their country's vast majority, live in misery, a group of Indian friends went to Shaoshan and studied the revolutionary history of the peasant movement that was started and led by Chairman Mao. The guide told them that as a student Chairman Mao had carried out investigations in the rural areas during his summer vacations in order to expand the peasant movement. Chairman Mao lived and worked with the peasants and shared their coarse food; he had heart-to-heart talks with them, propagated revolutionary truths among them and enthusiastically supported their revolutionary struggles. These Indian friends were greatly impressed by Chairman Mao's revolutionary struggle in his student days. They saw the spears, big swords and home-made guns used by the heroic peasants of Shaoshan in their struggle, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, against the landlords, local despots and tyrants and reactionary warlords. Greatly moved, one friend said: "A tremendous revolutionary force is latent in the peasants." Another said: "We will firmly follow the road pointed out by Chairman Mao. We will mobilize the millions of oppressed Indian peasants, organize them and arm them, encircle the cities from the villages and finally seize political power throughout the whole country."

After his arrival in the Ching kang Mountains, a Burmese friend wanted very much to study, in connection with the historical facts he would learn during his visit, the four brilliant works written by Chairman Mao in the Ching kang Mountains. But when he got there he found that there were no Burmese editions available in the Ching kang Mountains; only Chinese editions. Eager to learn the revolutionary truth, he defied all hardships and fatigue and asked his interpreter to help him even if it meant staying up late every night to translate the works word by word for him. He was very pleased when the interpreter agreed. Every day he went sightseeing in

daytime and studied *The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains, Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?* and other brilliant works by Chairman Mao with his interpreter at night. While taking careful notes, he copied and studied the sketch map of the route of the march into the Ching kang Mountains under Chairman Mao's leadership and maps describing battles fought under the command of Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin. He said: "I will fix all the details of Chairman Mao's great revolutionary practice in the Ching kang Mountains in my mind."

Before leaving the Ching kang Mountains, a Thailand friend recited an enthusiastic poem he had written to the local people. Entitled *On the Bright Road of the Ching kang Mountains*, it reads:

*The revolutionary flames are raging,  
The road of the Ching kang Mountains is  
broadening and widening;  
The ship of revolution is sailing speedily ahead,  
From the Ching kang Mountains to the whole  
world and  
From victory to still greater victories.  
The people of Thailand sing your praises:  
Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung!  
The Asian, African and Latin American people  
sing your praises:  
Long live the road of the Ching kang Mountains!  
The people throughout the world sing your  
praises:  
Long live Mao Tsetung Thought!*

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## Conscientiously Study Chairman Mao's Theory Of Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by Chao Yang

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CHAIRMAN Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is our basic guiding thought for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and promoting all our work. We must keep up our living study and application Mao Tsetung Thought, study this great theory well and temper ourselves into vanguard fighters who continue to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To have a deep understanding of this theory of Chairman Mao's, it is necessary to understand how Chairman Mao has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of continued revolution.

The theory of continued revolution was first advanced by Marx and Engels. In the middle of the 19th century, world capitalism was still in the free competition stage. In a number of countries (Germany, for instance), there was a vigorous rise in bourgeois democratic revolution and the proletariat had plunged itself into this revolutionary movement. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats, proceeding from their own narrow class interests, made the overthrow of feudal rule, the establishment of bourgeois dictatorship and the greatest freedom for developing capitalism the ultimate aim of revolution. Once this aim had been attained, they hurriedly put an end to their revolution. In the light of such a situation, Marx and Engels pointed out that the proletariat could

not make the bourgeois democratic revolution its ultimate aim; instead, it had to effect "the permanence of the revolution" after the democratic revolution so as to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and then proceed to eliminate private ownership and classes and realize communism throughout the world. Marx and Engels, therefore, clearly pointed out: "The proletariat's battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence."

After the death of Marx and Engels, the revisionists of the Second International, who had betrayed the Marxist theory of continued revolution, held that there was a prolonged break consisting of decades between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the proletarian revolution and denied the possibility of a transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. Proceeding from his negation of the revolutionary spirit of the peasants and of the worker-peasant alliance, the renegade Trotsky came up with an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist counter-revolutionary "theory of permanent revolution." Coming out as an ultra "Leftist" during the period of the Russian democratic revolution, he negated the peasants' demand for democratic revolution and directly carrying out the socialist democratic revolution and stood for skipping the stage of democratic revolution. During the period of the October Socialist Revolution, he turned from being ultra "Left" to being ultra Right. He held that the proletariat which had seized political power in a single country could not consolidate it and that only by waiting for the victory of the proletarian revolution in the Western countries could the Soviets avoid being destroyed. In essence, Trotsky's fallacies were opposed to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his struggle against the revisionists of the Second International, the Mensheviks and Trotsky, Lenin inherited, defended and developed the Marxist theory of

continued revolution and set forth a whole series of theories on the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. In the light of the special features of the era of imperialism in which capitalism had become moribund and the proletariat had grown in strength, he stressed that the proletariat must take hold of the leadership over the democratic revolution so as to carry it through to the end and then pass to the socialist revolution at the opportune time. Setting great store by the revolutionary spirit of the peasant masses, he pointed out that the peasantry was the proletariat's reliable ally in the democratic and socialist revolutions and that a firm worker-peasant alliance must be established. He discovered the law of the uneven development of capitalism and put forward the famous thesis that the victory of socialist revolution was possible first in one country, taken singly. In 1905 when the Russian democratic revolution was in high tide, Lenin pointed out that as soon as the tasks of the democratic revolution were accomplished, "from the democratic revolution we shall at once begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way." Using this brilliant concept of continued revolution, the Bolsheviks led by Lenin developed the Russian bourgeois democratic revolution into the October Socialist Revolution and founded the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the history of mankind.

In the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory, our great leader Chairman Mao has creatively applied and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of continued revolution in the course of the great struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction and against the "Left" and Right opportunist lines at home. With genius, Chairman Mao has solved the question of the transition of the Chinese revolution

from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and, in particular, has set forth the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and expounded the question of continued revolution in the socialist stage. This constitutes the third brilliant milestone in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism.

During the period of China's democratic revolution, Chen Tu-hsiu, who pursued a Right opportunist line, peddled Trotsky's anti-Marxist-Leninist "theory of permanent revolution" from the Right and advanced the "theory of two revolutions." He advocated abandoning proletarian leadership, liquidating the peasant movement and the worker-peasant alliance, handing the fruits of the democratic revolution over to the bourgeoisie and carrying out the socialist revolution only after a very long period of bourgeois dictatorship. Following a "Left" opportunist line, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming tried to sell Trotsky's anti-Marxist-Leninist "theory of permanent revolution" from the "Left." They came out with the "theory of a single revolution" by which both the democratic and socialist revolutions were "accomplished at one stroke." This, in essence, is tantamount to liquidating and abandoning the revolution. These erroneous lines brought serious harm to the Chinese revolution.

Applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of continued revolution to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao smashed the Right and "Left" opportunist lines and set forth a complete theory on the new-democratic revolution. He pointed out: In the era following the October Revolution, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist revolution. This revolution can only be and must be a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and

bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Its perspective is socialism, not capitalism. Chairman Mao correctly distinguished between the stage of national-democratic revolution and the stage of socialist revolution and at the same time correctly linked them up closely, pointing out that the former was the necessary preparation for the latter while the latter was the inevitable sequel to the development of the former. It is absolutely impermissible to allow an intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship between the democratic and socialist revolutions. Correctly guided by this theory, the Chinese democratic revolution won tremendous victories and was transformed into the socialist revolution without stopping.

In the tit-for-tat struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines at home and abroad during the period of socialist revolution in China, Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the experience both positive and negative, of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus solving the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, the most important question in the international communist movement of our time.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has utterly betrayed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. After coming to power, these renegades openly declared that "there are no more antagonistic classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union" and that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary in the Soviet Union." Through "peaceful evolution," they have turned the world's first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dark fascist state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Just before and after the democratic revolution triumphed throughout our country

in 1949, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi spared no efforts in advocating the development of capitalism in China. Saying that "socialism is something in the future, it's too early to talk about it now," he came out frantically against carrying the new-democratic revolution forward to the socialist revolution. In 1956 when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main, he again came out with the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," and raved that "in China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already solved." His vicious scheme was to follow the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and restore capitalism in China.

Using the Marxist-Leninist law of the unity of opposites in observing socialist society, Chairman Mao has, in his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, comprehensively set forth the existence of contradictions, classes and class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set forth the thesis of the existence of two different types of contradictions in socialist society—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people—and set forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After analysing the characteristics of socialist society, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." It is therefore necessary for the proletariat to continue the revolution and to constantly strengthen and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The protracted nature of class struggle in socialist society is notably manifested in class struggle in the realm of politics and ideology. After the political power of the

bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes has been overthrown and their means of production expropriated, the realm of politics and ideology is the last "hereditary domain" left to them. They are bound to use the exploiting classes' old ideology, old culture, and old customs and habits—the remains of thousands of years in society and in men's minds—as their spiritual "capital" to corrupt the masses and win the people's hearts, thereby paving the way for the restoration of capitalism. This being the case it is therefore insufficient to carry out socialist revolution on the economic front alone, and such revolution cannot be secured by itself. In addition it is necessary to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure. Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the realm of politics and ideology, a very long period of time is needed to decide 'who will win' in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Several decades won't do it; success requires anywhere from one to several centuries."

The struggle between the two classes and the two roads in society will inevitably be reflected in the Party. The main target of attack in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is "those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." Class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat still centres round the question of political power, "the question of whether the leadership of the Party and state to be in the hands of Marxists or of revisionists."

Chairman Mao has not only expounded the necessity but has also found the effective form for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This form is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in the course of which methods of extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat have been employed, and the masses have been boldly aroused from below to

air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates. Thus the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders who had wormed their way into the Party, with the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi as their chief representative, have been exposed and their plot to restore capitalism shattered. This has greatly consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. Applying historical materialism with genius and having complete faith in the working people's great role in creating world history, Chairman Mao has integrated the struggle between the two lines within the Party with the mass movement. This is a great creation and a great new contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

When Marx, Engels and Lenin spoke about continued revolution, they were mainly concerned with the question of the transition from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. Marx foresaw that the development of socialist society would still be a process of continued revolution. He pointed out: **"This socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally."** Owing to the limitations of his time, however, he only showed the direction. After the October Revolution, Lenin, basing himself on his great revolutionary practice in leading the dictatorship of the proletariat, saw the danger of capitalist restoration and the protracted nature of class struggle. He pointed out: **"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms."** But he died soon afterwards and was unable to solve this question. Under the new historical conditions, Chairman Mao has creatively applied the Marxist-Leninist theory of continued revolution to the historical period of the transition from socialism to communism. For the first time in the theory and practice of the international communist movement, it is pointed

out explicitly that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed and that the proletariat must continue the revolution. This is the most thoroughgoing revolutionary theory and a tremendous contribution to the international communist movement. If this theory of Chairman Mao's is grasped, it will enable those countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established to prevent, through their own struggles the restoration of capitalism, and the people of those countries where revisionists usurped state power will be able, through their own struggles, to overthrow revisionist rule and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has organically integrated the Marxist-Leninist theories of continued revolution and of the development of revolution by stages. As stated in the "Resolution on Some Questions Concerning the People's Communes," worked out in December 1958 under Chairman Mao's personal guidance and adopted by the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at its Sixth Plenary Session: "On the question of transition from socialism to communism, we must not mark time at the socialist stage, but neither should we drop into the Utopian dream of skipping the socialist stage and jumping over to the communist stage. We are advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of continued revolution; we hold that no 'Great Wall' exists or can be allowed to exist between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and between socialism and communism. We are at the same time advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of revolution by stages; we hold that different stages of development reflect qualitative changes and that these stages, different in quality, should not be confused." In other words, we are advocates of continued revolution by stages. Once we grasp this theory, we shall be able to overcome and prevent both "Left" and Right opportunist errors, and actively and steadily carry forward the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

ARMED WITH MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

## The Peasant Revolutionary Struggle of Srikakulam Is Invincible

—Comrade Charu Mazumdar analyses the source of the inexhaustible power of the raging armed struggle in India.

IN an interview with a correspondent of the *Liberation*, our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar recently pointed out: "Mao Tsetung Thought has today become the guiding light not merely of a few revolutionaries but also of tens of thousands of poor and landless peasants all over India. Mao Tsetung Thought has taken deep root in the soil of India and developed into a giant tree which the despicable reactionary flies are powerless to topple". The correspondent requested Comrade Charu Mazumdar to give his views on the possible reactions of the brutal suppression being carried on by the reactionary police and armed forces of the reactionary ruling classes against the peasant revolutionary struggle all over India and, in particular, in Srikakulam. The following is what Comrade Charu Mazumdar said in reply to the correspondent's question:

"A brief report appeared in the Bengali reactionary daily *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in the latter part of January this year. The report says that the peasant guerrillas in Srikakulam killed and beheaded a class enemy and hung up his severed head on a bamboo pole. That this report was published, though in a manner not to attract the attention of people, shows that the bourgeois press realizes

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the significance of this event. Let us recall the events that took place in Srikakulam during the period from the latter part of November, 1969 to the latter part of January, 1970.

"During these two months 13 of the heroic leaders of Srikakulam laid down their lives fighting against the reactionary armed police. A leader like Comrade Tejeswar Rao was arrested. The bourgeois press openly expressed its sense of relief believing that the Srikakulam struggle had at last been crushed by the suppression campaign of the reactionary police and the CRP. The revisionist press also shared this view of the bourgeois press and could hardly conceal its glee, and the treacherous revisionist leaders shed crocodile tears over the police repression against the poor peasant masses of Srikakulam. All the various groups, big and small, including Nagi Reddy and company, who are opposing Mao Tsetung Thought by using the name of Chairman Mao, put on the airs of learned men and lectured the people that the "adventurist" and "anti-Mao" line of the CPI(M-L) was what brought about the 'destruction' of the Srikakulam struggle. It was precisely at that moment that the new guerrilla action took place in Srikakulam.

"Chairman Mao has taught us: 'Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance'. Srikakulam is a living demonstration of this profound truth. The death of every single hero has fanned the flames of hatred of the peasant masses against their class enemy and, inspired with new determination, the fighting peasant masses have come forward in their hundreds to step into the breach caused by the death or arrest of their leaders, rearranged their own forces and have again gone into the offensive in a very short period. Only the unfolding of the creative power of the poor and landless peasants made it possible not only to withstand such a severe test, but to get organized and rearrange the forces so quickly. Comrade

Lin Piao has taught us that guerrilla warfare develops the creative power of the poor and landless peasants, and helps them organize themselves in new branches of work and co-ordinate their work. We have seen in Srikakulam a living and concrete demonstration of this correct thesis of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's. Tempered in the flames of the armed guerrilla warfare a new kind of men has been created there, men who fear neither death nor sacrifice, men who, in their love for the masses, are ever eager to do any kind of work, however difficult that may be. No power on earth can overwhelm such men—men who have conquered death; all the might of reaction becomes useless before them. Today, such men have been created in Srikakulam. They are the new men of a new era, the citizens of the free India that is going to be born, dignified men of the liberated world.

"It is precisely because such men have been created that it can be said with certainty that Srikakulam, far from being crushed, has, on the contrary, run its firm root deep into the soil of India—Srikakulam can never be crushed! Neither the Indira Gandhi government nor any reactionary imperialist power is able to stamp out the raging flames of the peasant revolutionary armed struggle. This is why the report of this guerrilla action in Srikakulam reinforces among us the firm conviction that the days of reaction are numbered, that a new power—the people's power—has been established, and that this bastion of the masses is truly invincible. This report of the guerrilla action in Srikakulam signifies that all the reactionary forces will be burned to ashes in the flames kindled by the masses.

"Mao Tsetung Thought has today become the guiding light not merely of a few revolutionaries, the tens of thousands of poor and landless peasants in Srikakulam, in every State and all over India have accepted Mao Tsetung

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"All reactionaries try to stamp out revolution by mass murder, thinking that the greater their massacres, the weaker the revolution. But contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more the reactionaries resort to massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution and the nearer their doom. This is an inexorable law."

—Chairman MAO TSETUNG

## Persecution Served to Intensify the Struggle : Experience of Srikakulam

( From Our Own Correspondent )

RECENTLY J. V. Rao, the fascist Police Minister of the Andhra Government, boastfully claimed after a visit to the fighting zones in Srikakulam district that the peasant revolutionary struggle there had been "crushed". Like his counterpart, Jyoti Basu in West Bengal, J.V. Rao also puts his reliance on the reactionary armed forces to suppress the revolutionary peasant struggle against feudal lords. Rao was having his wild day-dreams because by using savage fascist methods his police had been able to capture and kill a few of the leading comrades of the Srikakulam struggle.

The central leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) adopted a resolution (see *Liberation*, No. 8, January, 1970) on the death of the heroic martyrs of the Srikakulam struggle. I raised this point during my talks with a leading figure of the Srikakulam struggle who is also a Party leader there. With uncommon confidence, modesty and restraint he explained the resolution to me,



and spoke at length on the subject. The following is what he said :

We are persisting in struggle and at times have experienced setbacks. The blood that our beloved martyrs shed in the course of the struggle helps to inspire us still more and we are marching forward ready to make still more sacrifices. It is becoming imperative for us to carry on our struggle even more vigorously. This is exactly what we have experienced from the very beginning of our struggle. The first blow came when Comrades Adivatla Kailasam, Dr Sivarama Reddy, Dr Mallikarjun and others were arrested, and Comrade Reddy Appalaswamy was shot dead by the enemy. Then, the enemy shot dead Comrade Krishnamurthy and some other comrades, and began to shout that the struggle had been suppressed. After this Comrades Bhuban Mohan and Nagabhusan were arrested and the enemy began to spread again the myth that the struggle in Srikakulam was finished and that the revolutionaries have been prevented from entering Orissa. Our experience of these three previous setbacks shows that every time the enemy struck a blow our struggle raged still more intensely, and we despised the enemy and dashed

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Thought as their guiding light. Mao Tsetung Thought has today become the dearest possession of the poor and landless peasant masses of India, and taken deep root in the soil of India and developed into a giant tree which, the reactionaries—despicable flies—are powerless to topple.

*Long live the heroic peasant masses of Srikakulam !*

*Long live the peasant revolutionary armed struggle !*

*Long live the great Indian revolution !*

*Long live the Communist Party of India*

*(Marxist-Leninist) !*

*Long live Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to*

*Chairman Mao !*

all his wild dreams. Today, the enemy has struck again and killed and arrested some of our comrades, thus causing considerable losses to us. But Chairman Mao has said : **“Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.”** We are disciples of Chairman Mao and so, we are confident that whatever be our losses at present the enemy shall be defeated, and that we will smash all his wild day-dreams. We are determined to carry forward our struggle.

Since our struggle began we have lost quite a few comrades. We lost some comrades during the two months from the middle of November last year to the middle of January this year. What caused these losses ?

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us that the causes of our losses and setbacks lie in our erroneous thinking and actions. It follows from this that there must have been errors in our thinking and action. We are materialists, and so, do not blame our bad luck for our mistakes or console ourselves by saying ‘let bygones be bygones’ and let the matter end there. We must analyse things and know their ‘whys and wherefores’; we must find out the causes of our mistakes and rectify them in order to prevent our repeating the mistakes. We make mistakes in spite of our efforts to avoid them and then we rectify them.

Our present losses were partly due to our complacency but not wholly so. We must remember that losses and setbacks are inevitable in any struggle, particularly in the kind of struggle we are carrying on now, that is, the armed class struggle. There have been losses and setbacks in the past, and these are inevitable in future also. Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us : **“Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people ; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood !”** That is why we march forward resolutely, undeterred by losses and setbacks.

We are fully aware that we are engaged in fighting a ferocious and powerful enemy. How can we expect the enemy, powerful and ferocious as he is, to sit idly by and let us go away unscathed? No, losses and setbacks are inevitable in the course of our struggle.

Why do we say that our present losses and setbacks are heavy? Here also, as in the places where there is a struggle going on, hundreds have been arrested including some of our leading comrades. But the enemy is no longer satisfied only with making arrests, but is resorting to killing the arrested persons. Quite a few of the leading comrades of Srikakulam have been killed by the enemy in this way. That is why we consider our present losses heavy.

But what makes the enemy resort to this method? Chairman Mao has taught us that **"if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue"** it demonstrates that we are following the correct road. The enemy's attitude towards us in Srikakulam clearly demonstrates that we are following the correct road, and everyone knows the road we are following in Srikakulam. Our primary task is to annihilate the class enemies and at the same time carry out guerrilla attacks on the reactionary armed forces. Besides annihilating many class enemies, we killed 84 reactionary armed police personnel upto the end of November last year. Encounters with the reactionary armed police force have now become an everyday affair for the guerrillas. Hence the enemy's ruthlessness against our struggle. Our attitude to the enemy is, likewise, ruthless. The enemy is adopting various measures to carry out a protracted offensive. The fact that the masses all over India are taking the road of Srikakulam has thrown him into panic. This is why he is desperately trying to wipe out the Srikakulam struggle. Srikakulam is increasingly becoming a model for the revolutionary masses of India. The enemy is also desperately trying to suppress the Srikakulam struggle with utmost brutality and

ruthlessness in order to make this serve as a 'model' to be followed in suppressing the armed class struggle in all other places of India. For this the enemy is employing methods of the U.S. imperialists. This is precisely why Srikakulam must be prepared to make still more sacrifices and carry out heavier responsibility. Let us be clear about one thing: the enemy is out to destroy the Srikakulam struggle. This is why he has inflicted such serious losses on us.

After a careful analysis of the recent losses it becomes clear that these were not entirely due to our mistakes nor to the desperate ruthlessness of the enemy. While some of the losses were due to our lack of vigilance, others were due to factors beyond our control. As our struggle continued to develop in spite of the enemy's repression and the losses suffered by us, there grew among us an attitude of excessive self-confidence and sense of victory and we became somewhat self-complacent and our vigilance slackened. It is only because the peasant masses helped us whenever we were in difficulty that we could avert still more serious losses and setbacks. Now we have learned that even a little slackening of our vigilance may cause very serious losses.

The armed hirelings of the reactionary Indian government are spreading the brazenfaced lie that they killed our comrades in course of encounters. They are doing this only to cover up their despicable cowardice and to artificially boost up their sagging morale. The fact is that these armed hirelings in most cases prefer to flee whenever they are confronted with our guerrillas rather than to put up a fight. Even the very mention of the names of the guerrillas strikes terror in their hearts. Only when they manage to capture our unarmed comrades that these cowardly goondas kill them by shooting.

We shall experience setbacks and difficulties as the armed class struggle grows. Those who think that the

road to victory is smooth and straight, and that there will be no setbacks or difficulties, are living in a fool's paradise. We have taken all this into account and are trying to overcome our difficulties. In doing this we are guided by Chairman Mao's teaching: **"In times of difficulty, we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage."** Let us not forget that the Red political power has already been established in our Srikakulam under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), and that we are proceeding to build a revolutionary army in order to establish a base area.

Our struggle is continuing to march forward overcoming the temporary setback. It is on the basis of this that the central leadership has given the call to build many more Srikakulams all over the country.

### **New Upsurge In Guerrilla Struggle**

The above words of the leading comrade were based on solid facts. Greatly inspired by the stirring call given to the revolutionary peasant fighters by our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumder: **"Avenge every attack of the enemy and spread the struggle like waves! This is the only path, the only tested path for self-defence, and there is no other path...you are, today, the only force for revolution, the only force for progress in India, and no power can prevent the onward march of revolution"**, the heroic peasant revolutionaries of Srikakulam led by the CPI(M-L) have brought about a new upsurge in the guerrilla struggle since the middle of January. The following are reports of their heroic exploits:

Just at a time when the reactionary ruling classes were beginning to congratulate themselves for having "finished off" the Srikakulam struggle by savagely killing our arrested comrades, the indomitable peasant revolutionaries struck their first blow on January 18 in the Sompeta taluk to

avenge the murder of their beloved leaders and comrades. On that day a squad of 11 guerrillas annihilated a despotic landlord in the village of Bhavanpuranam and seized his property. The class hatred of the guerrillas against the class enemy was so intense that they hung his severed head outside the door of his house. The village lies within three miles from the Orissa border. There is an armed police camp only one and half miles away from the village. This successful guerrilla action in the midst of severe police repression has violently shaken the confidence of the reactionary ruling classes and struck terror in the hearts of the class enemies; on the other hand, it has raised a new wave of enthusiasm among the people.

The second blow was struck on February 15 in Sompeta taluk on the Andhra-Orissa border. On that night a guerrilla squad annihilated a despotic landlord in the village of Ambadikambram and seized all his property. Fifty persons including three women participated in this guerrilla action. It was near this place that the reactionary police acting under the instruction of J.V. Rao, the butcher, shot dead six comrades including Comrades Subbarao Panigrahi and Nirmala Krishnamurthy. Giving vent to their intense class hatred against such bloody crimes of the reactionaries, the guerrillas hung up the landlords' severed head on a bamboo pole in front of his house. This guerrilla action took place immediately after J. V. Rao made his boastful claim of having "crushed" the guerrilla struggle.

### **"It is people, not things, that are decisive"**

The peasant revolutionary struggle in Srikakulam has already produced men of a new type—men armed with Mao's setung Thought, who fear neither death nor hardship and are invincible in battles. The following story of the fighting guerrillas demonstrates in a living way the profound truth of Chairman Mao's teaching: **"It is people, not things, that are decisive."**

In the first week of February a small squad of four guerrillas of Sompeta area, which was moving in the hilly region at dawn, suddenly found itself encircled by a contingent of reactionary CRP force. Three comrades managed to break through the encirclement but the fourth one found himself in a disadvantageous position and could not escape. Though surrounded by the police he decided to fight it out. With great courage and determination he rushed towards a rock behind which were bags of grenades. After reaching the place he swiftly took up one bag and hurled all the four grenades in it injuring a number of reactionary policemen one of whom lost his eyes. In this way he blasted open a gap in the encirclement and began to run. Meanwhile, a reactionary policeman took out grenades from another bag lying behind the rock and threw them at the comrade and injured him. Other policemen rushed at him to capture him. Though wounded, the comrade collected all his energy and struck a blow at the nearest policeman and continued to run. Another policeman who raised his lathi to strike was kicked by the comrade, and fell. The comrade then took shelter within bushes. The policemen then surrounded the bushes confident of capturing him because they knew he was injured and had no grenades with him any more. But the comrade was determined not to yield. He suddenly jumped out from behind a bush and managed to escape.

### **Eight Policemen Killed**

The reactionary Indian government headed by Indira Gandhi, who is trying to deceive the masses by all sorts of talks of 'radicalism', has deployed a huge force of reactionary troops and policemen in a frantic attempt to crush the Srikakulam peasant struggle. Apart from the armed police force of the Andhra State government, large contingents of Central Reserve Police force have also been

mobilized. It is now known that contingents of troops specially trained in U.S. imperialist method of suppression of guerrilla warfare are being brought from Madhya Pradesh. **The training is given with the help of the U.S. imperialists themselves.** But the peasant guerrilla squads are already carrying on daring attacks on these reactionary troops and police sent to suppress them. Recently, the heroic peasant guerrilla squads have killed 8 reactionary policemen in two encounters in the Aviri hills of Parvatipuram Agency area in Srikakulam.

All this shows that even the most brutal "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the enemy has failed to cow the revolutionary masses in the Red area of Srikakulam. On the contrary, brutal persecution has strengthened their morale and revolutionary spirit. What is more, the guerrilla struggle is already spreading rapidly to new areas like Anantapur, Guntur and Nellore districts, and to new areas of Warangal district. Wherever the police repression is intensified, the masses are asking for guerrilla actions. The heroic peasant armed struggle, far from being "crushed", is actually developing at an accelerated tempo.

## Twenty-Five Days With A Guerrilla Squad In Srikakulam

An account of a guerrilla campaign given by a member of a guerrilla squad in Srikakulam

[We are publishing here the account of a 25-day campaign of a guerrilla squad in the guerrilla zone of Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh. The guerrilla squad is sent with a programme to cover a certain area. They are instructed to cover as many villages as possible within the specified area, hold discussions with the masses, know their problems, educate them in the revolutionary politics of armed struggle, organize them and set up village defence squads, carry out attacks on the enemies as far as possible and then return. An important comrade is put in command of the guerrilla squad. The squad whose account we are publishing here had fifteen guerrilla fighters, about half of whom were Girijans. During its present campaign, which lasted 25 days, it covered more than one hundred villages, widely propagated the revolutionary politics of armed struggle among the masses, set up a number of village defence squads, and carried out two guerrilla actions and then victoriously returned. The following is a brief account of this campaign given by a guerrilla fighter who participated in it. This account was published in the *Red Flag*—Telugu organ of the Andhra Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—now being published from Srikakulam.

—Ed. *Liberation*]

Normally, our squad used to move during the night. Under cover of darkness it crossed hills and valleys and tore through thick woods without using torches. We strictly followed Chairman Mao's teaching about

maintaining utmost secrecy in respect of guerrilla movements. Moreover, the area we were to cover lay within the guerrilla zone, that is, the enemy and the police were still to be found here and there. So, we had to be particularly careful about keeping our movements secret from them. The members of our squad were armed with guns, bows and arrows, and axes. Our luggage consisted of necessities like clothes, utensils for the preparation of tea, a few pieces of soap, tobacco, a medicine kit, a transistor radio set and a few books.

We usually camped near villages. At day-break, when the people of the village learned of our arrival, they became happy and came to us and helped us in many ways. They would themselves find a better place for our camping under some thickets or such other place which was very near the village, yet safe from the enemy, and then lead us there. We then made tea for ourselves and took rest. We did various sorts of work during this respite. Our commander held talks with the village people, another comrade switched on the radio and took down notes, while another talked with the village people for making arrangements for food. Some comrades slept, and others read books or got busy with cleaning the guns and repairing shoes. We took our bath in the nearest spring, and some comrades washed their clothes. As the police were not active in the area we had no necessity of lying in ambush to attack them.

\*We had our breakfast of *pakhali* (rice made out of maize or *ghanti*, a cereal, and taken after being soaked in water overnight) and dry chillies or dried balls of ragi flour between 9 and 10 in the morning. After the breakfast some of the comrades spread their blankets on the rocky earth and rested for some time while others held discussions with the villagers and studied their problems, thoughts and wants.

We had our midday meal at 1 p.m. Usually we took food prepared from paddy, maize or *ghanti*; sometimes we

took only gruel of ragi flour. After the meal we listened to the radio broadcasts and discussed them. On some days we had our group study classes on Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's military writings. Then we took rest for some time.

Messages were sent to nearby villages about the meetings to be held. By evening, people from those villages would begin to assemble. Many of them brought various foods for the guerrilla squad; some brought rice, while others brought chicken or cashew-nuts. In the evening, we listened to local news over the radio and broadcasts from Peking.

At 7 in the evening, we had our dinner with *pulusu* (tamarind juice diluted with water in which different kinds of vegetable are boiled). We often had chicken or goat meat also. We cooked our own food. By this time people from nearby villages had gathered and our commander held talks with them and in course of the conversation learned about the problems and thoughts of the people. The conversation can be described as a kind of investigation. Then we announced that the meeting would commence at 9 in the evening.

The meetings began with revolutionary songs sung by the guerrillas. We would stand in a line holding our arms over our shoulders and sang in chorus with emotion and enthusiasm. We sang quite a few revolutionary songs like:

*Awake, oh, tribal hero!*  
*Your sinews are strong as steel.*  
*Lunge forward with the force*  
*of a tidal wave.*

And—  
*Hurry along, oh worker!*  
*Hurry along, oh peasant!*

\* \* \*  
*Lo, there fluttering in the blue sky—*  
*the red flag of victory!*  
*Victory to the red flag of the peasant!*

The revolutionary melody and rhythm of our chorus songs and our vigorous singing touched the hearts of the assembled peasants and filled them with revolutionary enthusiasm so much that their bodies trembled. After the songs, some among us would make speeches before the peasants and our commander finally summed up. In their speeches the guerrilla comrades explained the reason and the necessity of starting armed struggle and pointed out the achievements of the armed struggle and the changes brought about by it. People were made conscious of their tasks in organizing village defence squads and the need of their participating in actions against the landlords. The speeches explained Chairman Mao's teachings on guerrilla tactics, and stressed the necessity of eliminating the reactionary police through such tactics. At the end we announced that the election of the village defence squad would take place at the same meeting. The village defence squad was elected then and there, and the commander of the squad was also elected. The village defence squads were asked to make arrangements for their arms themselves. They were also warned not to move about without arms.

Usually the meetings ended at about midnight and the peasants would disperse and go to their respective villages. After the meeting our squad would again be on the move and go to some other village 3 or 4 miles away.

This was our normal routine. Twenty days passed like this, during which we met the people of more than 100 villages, propagated the revolutionary politics of armed struggle among them, learned their problems and thoughts, and listened to their opinions. But this was not all. Another important part of our programme was to carry out guerrilla action against the enemy in this area. We carried out all-round investigation about the enemy with the help of the people of the locality. In this way we came to know about the oppression of four despotic landlords,

who, afraid of being attacked by Girijans, took refuge in villages where there were police stations.

Once we came to know that a party of 40 policemen was camping in a village. After making necessary investigation we planned to attack the police camp in this way: first, we would hurl hand-made bombs at the camp and then, as they came out, we would shoot them down. Accordingly, we approached the camp at night and threw five bombs at the camp and waited for a long time for the policemen to come out. But as no one came out we went back.

On another occasion people informed us that one or two landlords came to the weekly market in a village at the foot of the hills of the Agency area. We lay in ambush for them, but none of them turned up that day. But we met with success later. People informed us that a landlord had come for sacramental worship before commencing the cultivation of his land in the Agency area. He was one of the four despotic landlords about whom we had heard earlier. Of late this notorious fellow had invented a novel way of fleecing the poor peasants. First, he would take the police to the villages and get the people arrested. Then, he would again go to the villages, and asked the people to pay 700 to 800 rupees per village to get the arrested persons released. There were a number of instances where he extracted money from the poor villagers in this way. People all over the area bore deep hatred against him and wanted him to be annihilated. Our squad went to the village where the landlord was staying and felled him down with an axe and the local people at once confiscated all his foodgrains. With this action our 25-day campaign ended successfully.

## Indian Peasant Armed Struggle Intensifies

[From Peking Review No. 7, February 13, 1970]

**T**HE year 1969 saw a vigorous development of the revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian peasants and a steady expansion and growth of their armed strength.

### A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire

Under the leadership of the revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party, the peasants in Naxalbari in Darjeeling District, West Bengal State, fired the first shot of armed struggle in March 1967. This shook the vast land of India like a clap of spring thunder. The broad masses of Indian peasants are awakening and the flames of their armed struggle are spreading fast and raging more fiercely.

Great progress was made last year by the peasants in Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, in their armed struggles led and supported by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The peasant guerrillas turned 300 villages into red areas for launching struggle, and more than 100 guerrilla squads were active in an area of about 500 square miles in the Srikakulam Mountains. One hundred square miles of mountainous area deep in the interior of Parvatipuram Agency came under the control of the peasant armed forces. The current peasant armed struggle in Andhra Pradesh has spread from the remote mountainous area of Srikakulam District to more than 19 rural areas in 10 districts on the state's spacious plains and the jungle areas of neighbouring Orissa State. At the same time, the peasant masses rekindled the armed struggle in Khammam and other places in Telangana in the northern part of Andhra Pradesh.

In West Bengal, the peasant revolutionary armed struggle has spread from the Terai (region at the foot of the Himalayas) in the northern part of the state to Midnapur and other coastal regions in the south.

Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the peasant masses in Mushahari, Muzaffarpur District, Bihar State, took up arms and organized small guerrilla squads to conduct repeated operations against the reactionary police, landlords and local despots. This has brought the peasant struggle in Bihar State to a new stage, that of guerrilla struggle.

The peasant revolutionary armed struggle is also developing unabatedly in the jungle areas of Gunpur in Koraput District, Orissa State, in areas close to Lakhimpur in Uttar Pradesh, in Bhatinda and some other districts of Punjab State, and in Kerala State. All India is seething with revolutionary vigour.

### **Resolutely Take the Road of Seizing Political Power by Armed Force**

Since its founding on April 22, 1969, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has unswervingly taken the correct road of seizing political power by armed force. The Party has gone deep into the rural areas, boldly mobilized the masses, done propaganda work among them, organized and armed them. It has led the broad masses of revolutionary peasants to actively wage armed struggle in which agrarian revolution is its main content and brought about a completely new situation of vigorous development of the peasant armed struggle in India.

Since the beginning of last year, the peasant armed forces in various parts of India have made frequent attacks on reactionary police stations and landlords, severely punished the crime-laden despotic landlords and corrupt officials, and ambushed reactionary police and landlord armed bands sent to conduct "encirclement and suppression"

operations. The Indian paper *Hindustan Times* reported that in the first ten months of last year the revolutionary peasants of Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, fought more than 60 battles with reactionary police forces and local armed police and launched 38 attacks against the enemy. The acts of violence in the peasant revolution have dealt increasingly heavy blows to the reactionary Indian ruling classes.

Learning from past experience, the Indian Communists have begun to advance armed struggle to a completely new stage, the stage of seizing political power and establishing guerrilla bases. In the vast area of Srikakulam where the peasant armed struggle is developing vigorously, the peasants completely abolished the privileges enjoyed by the feudal landlord class for thousands of years and swept every bit of their prestige into the dust. The peasants established people's political power and set up people's courts to try the enemies of the people. Base areas for armed struggle have been set up in 300 villages controlled by peasant armed forces. Officials appointed by the reactionary government cannot enter these areas and the reactionary state apparatus has ceased to function.

The great teacher Chairman Mao has said: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." Wherever they went, the peasant revolutionary armed forces did propaganda work among the masses and organized and armed them. While fighting the enemy, the peasant guerrilla units publicized the great truth "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" among the masses and mobilized them to take part in struggle. They established the closest relations with the broad revolutionary masses and won their support. In the Pallia area of Lakhimpur District, Uttar Pradesh, where the peasant armed forces are active, the peasant masses kept



the guerrilla units fully informed of police activities. The reactionary government has sent armed police to raid various villages in the area on many occasions, but the reactionary police failed to find the guerrillas who are shielded by the masses. Once, over 1,000 peasants together with the guerrilla units attacked a landlord's house in Pathapatnam sub-division, Srikakulam District. The police stationed near by were so fear-stricken by the might of the masses that they dared not come out. Many peasants in the district voluntarily sent grain, vegetables and fruit to the guerrillas. Because the guerrillas and peasant masses are as closely related as flesh and blood, the Indian reactionaries are at a complete loss. Even the reactionary Indian press lamented that the peasant masses' support for the revolutionary armed forces is "the biggest obstacle the police met."

#### **March Forward Victoriously in Shattering the Reactionaries' "Encirclement and Suppression"**

The swift and vigorous development of the Indian peasant armed struggle has struck terror into the hearts of the reactionary Indian authorities. To prop up its tottering rule, the reactionary Indian Government headed by Indira Gandhi is intensifying its suppression of the peasant revolutionary armed forces and the revolutionary Indian people. The reactionary Indian authorities in Andhra Pradesh dispatched a big police force to "mop up" and round up the peasant armed forces in Srikakulam, and attempted to set up so-called "village self-defence guards" and "village volunteers" for putting down the peasant armed forces. Apart from setting up more police camps in various districts to suppress the peasant armed forces, the reactionary authorities in West Bengal State have enforced a fascist rule over the people, and they even empowered the district authorities to compel every person to make a "guarantee of good behaviour" and pledge not to

have any contact with the peasant armed forces. Anyone who violates his "guarantee" will be sentenced to imprisonment. To realize their criminal aim of suppressing the Mizo people's armed struggle, the reactionary Indian authorities set up "protective villages" like concentration camps in the Mizo area in a vain effort to cut off the revolutionary masses from the people's armed forces.

The great teacher Chairman Mao has taught us: "All reactionaries try to stamp out revolution by mass murder, thinking that the greater their massacres, the weaker the revolution. But contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more the reactionaries resort to massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution and the nearer their doom. This is an inexorable law." The reactionary Indian Government is vainly trying to stamp out the peasant armed forces by mass murder, but contrary to its reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more the reactionaries resort to wanton suppression, the stronger is the resistance of the people. The Indian peasant armed forces cannot be vanquished nor wiped out, but on the contrary will become ever stauncher and more powerful because they are steeled in their counter-attacks against the "encirclement and suppression" and "mopping-up operations" of the reactionary police.

In its external policy, the reactionary Indian Government headed by Indira Gandhi is hiring itself out to U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism and living on their alms, and getting itself buried in foreign debts. At home, it is stepping up its oppression and exploitation of the people and sucking their blood. Riddled by serious financial and economic crises, it has made large numbers of workers jobless and plunged the broad masses of Indian peasants and city poor into ever worsening impoverishment. The class contradictions in India are becoming unprecedentedly acute and the cut-throat struggle for power inside the reactionary Indian ruling clique is also becoming fiercer

and fiercer. Bugged down by difficulties at home and abroad, saddled with countless contradictions and crises and finding itself in an impasse, the reactionary Indian Government is sitting on thorns. Every place in India is inflammable and the raging flames of the peasant armed struggle will certainly blaze fiercer and fiercer. So long as the Indian revolutionary people unswervingly take the road of seizing political power by armed force, they will certainly win nationwide victory in revolution through protracted struggle.

## New Successes of Peasant Armed Struggle In India

- Spreads to Burdwan, Birbhum, Howrah and Nadia districts of West Bengal
- Daring guerrilla attacks in Muzaffarpur in Bihar and Midnapur in West Bengal
- Further success in Assam

**T**HE stirring call to "avenge every attack of the enemy and spread the struggle in waves" given by our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar in December last year to the peasant revolutionaries (see *Liberation*, December, 1969) and the call of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPI (M-L) to "avenge the murder of the heroic martyrs of Srikakulam" (See *Liberation*, January, 1970) have tremendously inspired the revolutionary peasants and fighters throughout the country. Far from being cowed by the brutal repression unleashed by the reactionary police and troops the aroused peasant masses have rallied still more closely around the Party and surged forward vigorously in launching counter-attacks against the enemy. They are firmly carrying out the Party's instruction of "persisting in the path of annihilating the class enemy through guerrilla warfare, intensifying still further the revolutionary war of the peasant masses," and have scored new successes in advancing and spreading the struggle in waves.

We give below the reports of their successes in various parts of the country.

### WEST BENGAL

The revolutionary peasant guerrillas in various parts of the State have refused to be cowed by the fascist repression

unleashed by the arch-revisionist renegade Jyoti Basu, the Police Minister, closely supported by the reactionary Indian ruling clique headed by Indira Gandhi. Dashing all the wild day-dream of Jyoti Basu and company to the dust, the heroic peasant guerrillas have not only persisted in dealing telling blows against the class enemies in Debra and Gopiballavpur areas of Midnapur district but have also spread the flames of guerrilla struggle in new areas and districts.

**Midnapur district :** Guided by our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar's instruction to spread the struggle in waves and greatly inspired by the Party's call to avenge the murder of the martyrs of Srikakulam the West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Border Area Committee of the CPI (M-L) pledged itself to go all out to carry out this instruction.

The peasant guerrillas implemented this decision first on January 31, in Zone no. 3 under Khargpur Local P.S. In a daring daylight attack a small group of four guerrillas annihilated Kedar De, a despotic jotedar and usurer of Radhakishore village, at about 8 o'clock in the morning in a field. Apart from ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing the peasants this class enemy also resorted to fraud to rob the peasants of their land and pawned articles. He took a leading part in opposing the peasant armed struggle and helped the police and the spies in every way—by providing shelter for them in his house, by hunting out the peasant revolutionaries and guerrillas etc. This is the second guerrilla action in this area. It has struck fear in the hearts of class enemies and their protectors—the police and the revisionists—while the people are jubilant. Jyoti Basu's police have failed to arrest any guerrillas who are protected by the people.

The guerrillas drew four lessons from this action :  
(1) Annihilating the class enemy by the guerrilla method is the only way to arouse the masses and distinguish between

those who are revolutionaries in action and those who are revolutionaries in words only ; (2) the guerrilla squad must rid itself of vacillating elements in order to win success in guerrilla actions ; (3) those who have revisionist ideas should be firmly kept out of the guerrilla squad. Even middle peasants should be kept out at the initial stage ; (4) guerrillas and guerrilla squads should never carry bows and arrows or weapons like these which are used to strike the enemy from a long distance, because experience shows that persons carrying such weapons get frightened more than anyone else.

On February 13, another despotic jotedar and usurer Mohini Sau was waylaid and annihilated within two minutes by a group of five guerrillas at about seven in the evening. The class enemy was at that time accompanied by a bodyguard. But this man, a landless peasant, did not even try to protect the class enemy. Sau owned 250 bighas of land and invested two hundred thousand rupees in money-lending business. He also owned a cloth shop and a grocery. For every maund [about 37 kg.] of paddy lent out he extracted one and a half maunds after three months and two maunds if the time-limit was extended even for a single day beyond three months. People were jubilant and greatly enthused after this annihilation, while the other class enemies and the wretched revisionists began to threaten the people with police repression. The people, however, scorn-fully rebuffed them.

Again, on February 17, the peasant guerrillas struck. In the evening a small group of guerrillas, led by the CPI (M-L) and armed with pole-axe annihilated in a daring action, Harekrishna Ghoroi, a despotic jotedar, in his house in Pakuria village in south Keshpur. This class enemy owning a huge landed property was the biggest and the most hated usurer of the area. He was the local leader of Bangla Congress [a reactionary constituent party of the 'united front']. He used to inflict ruthless physical

torture on the peasants and earned their intense hatred. The wrath and class hatred of the guerrillas were so intense that they beheaded him and kicked his severed head out of the house.

How daring and determined the guerrillas have become through tempering in the armed class struggle in the countryside can be seen from the guerrilla action in Baharagora area on February 26. It may be mentioned that it was in this area (Gopiballavpur peasant armed struggle started here) and in Debra that Jyoti Basu supported the reactionary Indian Government unleashed a most brutal suppression campaign against the peasant revolutionary struggle by employing EFR troops in large numbers. Promode Dasgupta, the arch revisionist renegade and the party boss of CPM in West Bengal, gleefully said sometime ago that this brutal repression had succeeded in stamping out the flames of the peasant armed struggle in Gopiballavpur and Debra. But far from being suppressed the peasant guerrillas there have become still more determined and courageous and are continuing to deal heavy blows at the feudal exploiters whom Jyoti-Promode-Konar and company are trying desperately to protect with the help of reactionary police and troops.

On February 25, a group of 11 guerrillas armed with sticks, pole-axes, daggers and knives annihilated Kumed Jana, a notorious jotedar and usurer of Manusmuria village under Baharagora P.S. in broad day-light in a shop (owned by Jana) in the market place of Bankathi village. This class enemy was notorious for grabbing the land of the peasants by fraud and trickery. He grabbed 350 bighas of land in this way. Apart from this he had a vast and flourishing money-lending business in which he invested no less than five hundred thousand rupees. He was also a big cloth merchant. He was very cautious and never came out of his house after dusk. Even in daytime he never came out unless he was accompanied by four or five other persons.

The day before the action the guerrilla squad decided to annihilate this class enemy at the weekly market that was held at Bankathi and where he had a cloth shop. A poor peasant was elected commander. On the day of the action the guerrillas came singly from far away places and assembled in the market-place at 4-30 in the afternoon. Mingling with the five hundred or so people who had come to the market the guerrillas kept constant watch over the movements of the class enemy. As they had no previous experience of annihilating a class enemy in broad daylight in a crowded market-place, they were somewhat apprehensive about succeeding in this case. But as they thought of the downtrodden masses and how this class enemy had oppressed them, the hearts of the guerrillas burned with intense class hatred and their determination to overcome all difficulties and kill the class enemy then and there increased manifold. At 5:30 p.m. just when Kumed was busy with his accounts books the guerrillas led by their commander stood at the door of the shop. The commander went into the shop pretending to purchase a loincloth. Kumed began to abuse him angrily for treading on and soiling some cloth. Without paying any heed to his outbursts the commander walked towards him and suddenly drew out a dagger from under his clothes and hit the class enemy. The five other guerrillas who were to take part in the action also rushed in and began to hit him with the weapons in their hands, and killed him instantaneously, while the other guerrillas stood guard outside. All the jotedars and bad elements who had shops there were frightened to death and ran helter skelter to save their skin. After this successful action the guerrillas raised slogans: "Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!", "We are avenging and will avenge the murder of the martyrs of Srikakulam!", "Long live Comrade Charu Mazumdar!", "Red salute to the peasant struggle of Surmuhi!", "Red salute to Naxalbari!",

"Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Then the guerrillas dispersed and safely returned to their shelters. This action has tremendously stirred the masses of Baharagora. With this action the guerrilla struggle has spread to the border of the Chakulia P.S.

**Burdwan district:** The flames of the armed peasant struggle have now spread to this district which is said to be a stronghold of the revisionists. It is the home district of Harekrishna Konar, the arch-revisionist renegade, who has played a prominent role in disrupting and opposing revolutionary peasant struggle in West Bengal and India. This jackal of the feudal lords took great pains in keeping this district 'peaceful,' that is, safe for the blood-sucking feudal exploiters. But the inevitable has happened and the irresistible peasant revolutionaries led by the CPI (M-L) have stormed into this stronghold of Konar and company and raised the red banner of armed guerrilla struggle there. This is an important success of the peasant's armed struggle now raging in West Bengal.

The first shot in this successful breakthrough was fired on March 7 when a guerrilla squad waylaid and annihilated Bhutnath Roy, a despotic jotedar and usurer, with weapons like a pole-axe, daggers and swords. This class enemy owned 120 bighas of land and invested about ten thousand rupees in money-lending business. He had all the vices of a feudal lord and endlessly harassed the peasant women of the area. Previously a local boss of the Congress Party, this class enemy was recently on very close and cordial terms with CPM—the party led by the Jyoti-Promode clique in West Bengal. This vulture of a man was so afraid of the people that he seldom went out after dusk and whenever he did, he took four or five roughnecks with him. On this day he was returning alone in the evening from another village, Bhada, where he had gone to drink, when the guerrillas annihilated him.

**Murshidabad district:** The peasant guerrilla struggle in

this district has gained a new success. The local Party unit read and discussed Comrade Charu Mazumdar's "A Call to Peasant Revolutionaries" with the guerrillas. Greatly roused by this call and the call of the central leadership of the Party to avenge the murder of the martyrs of Srikakulam, the guerrillas decided to avenge the murder of the heroic martyrs of Srikakulam and spread the struggle in waves. To implement this decision under the leadership of the Party a small group of three guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic agent of the jotedars and usurer, Jagu Sheikh, alias Samsuddin Sheik, of Bahurul village under Baharampur P.S. on the evening of February 27. This class enemy was the right-hand man of Binoy Sen and Bijoy Sen—jotedars of Baharampur—and himself practised usury. He also owned considerable land. He ruthlessly oppressed the peasants by extorting exorbitant interest from them and even beat them up if they failed to pay it. He also maintained a band of roughnecks. This beast of a man burned down the houses of a number of peasants who dared to protest against his oppression. This devil took great pleasure in dishonouring and harassing peasant women. Lately, he was plotting with the jotedars to 'liquidate' the 'Naxalites.'

On the day of the action this class enemy was returning in the evening from the Baharampur town. There were some people, including a NVF man, behind and in front of him. But the guerrillas who were burning with intense class hatred daringly attacked the class enemy and killed him on the spot with the help of a small knife and melted away into the darkness. This action has greatly enthused the oppressed peasants of the area and they are warmly praising the heroic guerrillas.

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Led by the CPI (M-L) the revolutionary armed peasant struggle in West Bengal has spread to three other districts—Nadia, Birbhum and Howrah.

**Nadia district :** On February 16, a guerrilla squad attacked and seriously injured a despotic jotedar and usurer Benari Saha of Rahamatpur village under Karimpur P.S. This class enemy owns 450 bighas of land and a big jute godown. He has a thriving money-lending business also. This action has struck fear into the hearts of the local jotedars, while the masses of poor and landless peasants are jubilant. This is the first guerrilla action in this district.

**Birbhum district :** On January 22, a despotic jotedar, Jiten Ghose of Khosnagar village under Dubrajpur P.S. was seriously injured by peasant guerrillas led by the CPI (M-L). This guerrilla action, first in the district which is a stronghold of the revisionists, has created enthusiasm among the poor and landless peasants.

**24 Parganas district :** The peasant guerrilla struggle has continued to advance in this stronghold of the Dange clique and revisionists of various other hues.

On January 10, a small group of three guerrillas, all of them landless peasants, waylaid and seriously injured a class enemy of Ghatpukur village under Bhangar P.S. with pole-axes. Apart from 100 bighas of land the family of this class enemy has a thriving money-lending business and a goldsmith shop. This action has frightened the enemies of the area while the poor and landless peasants are happy. Jyoti Basu has set up 2 police camps there to restore the confidence of the jotedars.

On February 10, another squad of peasant guerrillas raided the house of Rajani Adak, a despotic jotedar and usurer, in Tetulberia village under Maheshtala P.S. and seriously injured him. Apart from 600 bighas of land this class enemy also has a thriving money-lending business. The poor and landless peasants of the area are sorry because that devil could not be killed.

## ASSAM

The revolutionary peasants of Assam led by the CPI (M-L) are also carrying forward guerrilla struggle to avenge the murder of the heroic martyrs of Srikakulam. On February 11, a small group of 4 guerrillas waylaid and annihilated with choppers Bhabeswar Chaudhuri, a despotic jotedar and usurer and the manager of the Jorhat colliery. The whole thing took only 10 minutes. The action took place at the border of the Abhayapuri and Bijni P.S. in the Abhayapuri P.S. area. The first action—the annihilation of another despotic jotedar—had taken place under Goalpara district.

## BIHAR

The flames of the revolutionary peasant armed struggle are raging fiercely in Muzaffarpur district and have spread to the Monghyr district. Persisting in the armed guerrilla struggle the revolutionary peasant fighters of Bihar led by the CPI (M-L) have continued to score one new success after another. The struggle of the valiant Mushahari peasants is a living demonstration of the inexhaustible power of guerrilla warfare. It has shown that once the peasant masses take the road of waging guerrilla warfare no "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the enemy, however brutal and ruthless, is able to prevent it from developing and spreading.

**Mushahari (Muzaffarpur district) :** The peasant guerrillas of Mushahari led by the CPI (M-L) are scoring new successes in their guerrilla struggle, that is, in annihilating the class enemies through guerrilla actions. They are doing this amidst a most ruthless and brutal "encirclement and suppression" campaign now being carried on by the reactionary ruling class. According to incomplete statistics, the peasant guerrillas have annihilated 13 class enemies in Muzaffarpur district upto the middle of February.

On January 16, a big group of thirty peasant guerrillas, supported by the local peasants, raided the house of a

despotic landlord, Deo Narain Sahay, in the village of Chaumukh under Katra P.S. and seized all his movable property. The class enemy with his family, however, managed to flee elsewhere before the action. This class enemy has committed grave crimes against the people including rape of peasant women.

This guerrilla action lasted about four hours and was carried out in spite of round-the-clock police patrolling and brutal police repression. Before this guerrilla action revolutionary politics were spread among the peasant masses of the locality.

On February 1, a group of peasant guerrillas annihilated a despotic landlord, Ramji Misra, in the village of Muhammadpur, and confiscated all his movable property. On the same day they annihilated another notorious landlord in the same village.

These two actions took place at a time when a huge police force was mobilized in the area and round-the-clock patrolling by the police was going on. The guerrillas are successfully frustrating this "encirclement and suppression" campaign by moving quickly in small groups to new areas and by increased mobility. In this way they are able to carry on their battle of annihilation of class enemies.

On February 18, the peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated Raghunath Prasad Singh of Mushahari area, a most hated despotic landlord and local Congress party boss. This class enemy acted as the "eye" of the police in this area and took initiative in ruthlessly oppressing the local people with the help of police. He had started 19 court cases against the peasants and had a police picket stationed in the house of Comrade Rajkishore Singh. He was the fiercest class enemy in Mushahari.

**Monghyr district:** The flames of revolutionary armed peasant struggle led by the CPI (M-L) are now raging in this district also. The peasant guerrillas annihilated Bhubaneswar Choudhury, a despotic landlord of Manikpur

village under Surajgarha P.S. This class enemy cruelly oppressed and tortured the peasants and even murdered a few of them. He was on intimate terms with Sindo Singh, the notorious landlord and usurer of Lasghani. Sindo was annihilated by the guerrillas within 50 yards of an armed police camp. Three class enemies including the above two have been annihilated in Monghyr upto now.

These successful guerrilla actions, that is, the annihilation of the class enemies, have brought about a new high tide in the class struggle in this area. The broad masses of peasants, particularly the poor and landless peasants, are taking part in this class struggle. Frightened to death, the ruling class has set up ten armed police camps in the area. The State armed police, Border Security Force and Home Guards have been employed to suppress the revolutionary-peasant struggle. A vast network of police spies has also spread over the area. But all this is failing miserably even in 'containing' the raging armed peasant struggle, not to speak of suppressing it. The heroic guerrillas are moving about freely among the peasant masses like fish in water. The Party organization is being expanded and consolidated.

Reports of further successes of the peasant armed struggle keep pouring in as we go to press. We give below brief reports of them. Detailed reports will follow.

On March 12, a squad of 8 peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated Nagendra Nath Biswas, a despotic jotedar, usurer and big jute merchant of Nadia district.

The first guerrilla action has taken place in the Howrah district which is contiguous to Calcutta. On March 12, a guerrilla squad led by the CPI (M-L) waylaid and annihilated Atul Sadhukhan a hated jotedar and usurer.

One more class enemy was annihilated by the peasant guerrillas in the Gopiballavpur area on March 5.

The peasant guerrillas of 24 Parganas district annihilated one more class enemy on March 8.

The heroic peasant revolutionaries of Naxalbari have continued to carry forward their guerrilla warfare. On February 4 and 25, they annihilated two class enemies.

## NOTES

( Continued from page 16 )

Congress government at the Centre, the Swatantra-Jana Congress government of Orissa and the reactionary officials of the Bihar government.

But the vilest of all crimes that the revisionists have committed is perhaps their planned, systematic and insidious attempt to disrupt by all means the unity of the working people. In every factory they have tried to lead one section of workers in a war against another section just as in the countryside they have tried to set one section of poor and landless peasants against another section. To split the workers, to disrupt their unity in the face of the vicious offensive of the big bourgeoisie is the 'sacred' task that the revisionist lackeys have undertaken in order to help their masters shift the burden of the present crisis on to the shoulders of the workers. So, when one revisionist clique has declared a strike, another clique has openly, shamelessly, worked as strike-breakers. So, in Indian Iron and Steel Company's factory at Burnpur, Inchek Tyre Factory, Krishna Glass Works, printing establishments in Calcutta, tea plantations in the Dooars, collieries in the Asansol area and in numerous other factories and places, workers led by one "communist" or "socialist" party have fought and killed workers who owe allegiance to another such party. In the rural areas too these counter-revolutionaries incited poor and landless peasants to fight and kill others of their own class. In the name of seizing *benami* land the various cliques of counter-revolutionaries led poor and landless peasants to occupy the land tilled by other share-croppers. It was a grim, murderous fight which the poor and landless peasants lured by land waged against others of their own class—a fight in which no less than one hundred poor and landless peasants were killed. It was really a class struggle, a struggle that the sly,

treacherous revisionists directed against the working people, a struggle to smash their revolutionary unity, a struggle to create a dam against the tide of the armed struggles of the peasants.

But the peasant guerrillas and revolutionary workers are foiling this sinister game of the revisionist traitors. Today, throughout West Bengal guerrilla warfare is fast developing and mobilising and uniting the poor end landless peasants. In the cities and towns workers are waking up to their responsibility of leading the revolutionary struggles of the peasantry. The influence of Mao Tsetung Thought is spreading among the workers: the long spell of revisionism, of economism, is breaking. A qualitative change is taking place in the struggles of the working class.

The reactionaries and revisionists can see the writing on the wall and are alarmed beyond measure. It is the armed peasant struggle and the growing militant struggles of the working class and the petty-bourgeoisie that have shattered all their fond dreams. The "emerging alternative" has suffered an ignominious death before it could fully emerge. Perplexed by the growing crisis and hemmed in by the revolutionary struggles led by the CPI (M-L), which are sharpening the crisis and sharpening the inner contradictions between the different factions of the reactionaries and revisionists, the revisionist-led United Front government in West Bengal have retired from the scene hoping to stage a come-back at a more suitable time afterwards. In the meantime the bureaucrats have been given a free hand to adopt repressive measures against the CPI (M-L) and revolutionary peasants and workers. The manner of their exit has been as treacherous as their spell in office. The day after the resignation of the U. F. ministry, the revisionist clique led workers into murderous fights against other workers. When one treacherous bunch declared a general strike, another bunch opposed it. So the blood of the workers was spilled freely



on March 17 in Naihati-Halisahar area, Tribeni (Hooghly), Habra, Dakhsinduari (Dumdum, 24 Parganas), Chittaranjan, Bauria, Asansol collieries, Batanagar, Burdwan, Calcutta etc.

Chairman Mao has taught us : **"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom ; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law."**

But the hopes of the reactionaries and revisionists, like their earlier hopes, are sure to be shattered. Their paper tiger nature is already revealed. The more firmly the cadres of the CPI (M-L), peasants and workers grasp Mao Tsetung Thought, the nearer will be the doom of the imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists. The very collapse of the revisionist-led U. F. government is a tribute to the gathering sweep of the revolutionary struggles and strength of the CPI (M-L).

20.8.70

### *THE LACKEY HAS SPOKEN*

The revolutionary workers, students and youth of Calcutta and of the suburbs did not tolerate the exhibition of an anti-Chinese Hindi film, "Prem Pujari," and, on March 3 last, forced about thirteen cinema halls to stop its screening. Bonfire was made of the copies of this film in more than one cinema hall.

Since 1962, there has been a spate of Indian films preaching hatred for great China, the base of world revolution. This is part of the frenzied war preparations that the Indian reactionaries and their masters—the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists—have been making in order to attack Socialist China. Almost the whole of north Assam and north Bengal, besides other parts of the country, has been turned into a vast military base swarming with hundreds of thousands of soldiers and equipped with missiles, supersonic jets, sophisticated detection and

weaponry systems etc., manned by the usual quota of U.S. and Soviet military "advisers". Apart from the very large military concentration in this long stretch of territory, there are many open and secret para-military organizations in this area. The SSB (Subsidiary Secret Bureau), Assam Frontier Rifles, GREF and Local Defence Force are some of them. The SSB is an American-directed outfit with open and secret networks. Its ostensible purpose is to conduct guerrilla warfare in case of invasion by a foreign army. But the real purpose of this anti-communist organization is to carry on espionage work directed against the revolutionary people and to conduct a counter revolutionary war against any revolutionary civil war that will break out in the event of the Indian reactionaries attacking China. The SSB has its regional headquarters at Siliguri, Barpeta and Tezpur besides other places. The whole region north of the Brahmaputra has been divided into "circles" or areas with an SSB inspector in charge of each. Another secret outfit, perhaps set up by the SSB, is a para-military organization comprising the headmen (Government of India posts) and their agents in the NEFA. These men are armed with modern weapons and a lavish system of bribery is used to ensure their loyalty. The NEFA, claimed as Indian territory, is out of bounds to Indians though the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, the enemies of both the Indian and Chinese peoples, are free to carry out their sinister plans there. Indians are required to obtain a kind of passport called the "inner line pass" to enter the NEFA—a passport which, it is needless to add, is only issued to men and women useful for the anti-China, counter-revolutionary war-plot.

The last two months—January and February—have witnessed extensive military manoeuvres in the whole of north Bengal, north Assam, the NEFA and Bhutan. These were the dress rehearsals for aggression and, like the real thing, were accompanied by supersonic booms from

modern jets. Large-scale troop movements into the north-east region are also in progress.

All this is only one aspect of the huge material preparations the Indian reactionaries are making to launch a criminal war against Socialist China, against the revolutionary people of the whole world including the people of India—a war that will no doubt hasten their own doom and the doom of their masters, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

Side by side with the material preparations, frantic attempts are being made to imbue the minds of the Indian people with counter-revolutionary ideology, to impregnate their minds with the poison of bourgeois chauvinism. Since 1962, the imperialists, the reactionaries and the revisionists of all brands have been waging a hysterical propaganda to make the Indian people hate Socialist China and range on the side of their own savage exploiters and oppressors. From 1962 to 1966 the Indian people helplessly watched this campaign of hatred against Socialist China because the leadership of the Indian Communist Party had been usurped by different cliques of revisionist traitors. As part of this propaganda war against China, against revolution and against the Indian people, a series of dirty anti-Chinese films were produced and exhibited throughout India.

But the situation changed after Naxalbari. The revolutionary people of West Bengal, sick of the bourgeois chauvinist filth and slanderous attacks against the bastion of world revolution, would have no more of them. They decided to put a stop to the exhibition of anti-China, counter-revolutionary films. So, last year the youth and students forced the cinema houses in West Bengal to stop the screening of "Satranj," filthy anti-Chinese stuff.

Today, the danger of the Soviet social-imperialists attacking China and dragging India and other countries into a world war has greatly increased: at the same time,

the resistance of the revolutionary Indian people to the criminal war plans is growing every day, every hour. On the one hand, the Indian reactionaries have stepped up their feverish war preparations as well as their campaign of hatred against China through the press, the radio and the cinema. On the other hand, the fight to smash the anti-China war plot and the struggle against bourgeois chauvinism have reached a new stage with the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The Party under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar has raised the slogan—"China's Chairman is our Chairman"—a slogan that resounds today throughout the country, a slogan that is a direct frontal attack on bourgeois chauvinism. An ideological political-struggle—the like of which India has never seen before—has started, a struggle to combat all reactionary and revisionist propaganda to stir up bourgeois chauvinism, a struggle to build the revolutionary unity of the great Indian and Chinese peoples—the revolutionary unity of the Indian people with the peoples of the whole world on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought. And raising high the banner of proletarian internationalism and responding to the call of the Party and its beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the peasant guerrillas are spreading the flames of revolutionary war from one end of the country to another to win liberation for the people as well as to eliminate the war of aggression that may be launched by the Soviet social-imperialists, the U. S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries.

Recently, the premiere of the Hindi film "Prem Pujari", a notorious anti-Chinese film, in the making of which the Indian army and air force had an important role, was inaugurated in Delhi by India's Defence Minister, Swaran Singh. Top-ranking officials of the Indian air force attended a special premiere arranged by the air force at Ghaziabad and, like Swaran Singh, lavished much praise on the film. A few days ago, the Punjab government and

the Delhi authorities exempted it from amusement tax. One can easily realize the importance the Indian reactionaries attached to this film in their political preparation for the war against Socialist China. But when copies of it were sent to West Bengal, the reactionaries, afraid of the mood of the revolutionary people of West Bengal, took care to cut out most of the rabidly anti-Chinese portions. Besides preaching hatred for China, it preaches hatred for the Pakistani people too. Even after removing the more blatant anti-Chinese portions the reactionaries feared the wrath and indignation of the people. So they sought the help of that revisionist scab, West Bengal's Police Minister, Jyoti Basu, and that lackey of a lackey, West Bengal's Information Minister, Jyoti Bhattacharyya, besides trade unionist stooges like Mohammad Ismail. They were invited to a private show and these revisionist scabs approved of this film and, together with their masters, served as purveyors of the anti-China, counter-revolutionary, bourgeois chauvinist filth. These scabs are always prompt to offer their services to the Indian reactionaries for setting up an anti-China, counter-revolutionary front. This demonstrates once again that these revisionist scoundrels are running dogs of the U. S. imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and domestic reactionaries.

That despicable lackey, Jyoti Basu, has spoken. He has been shameless enough to denounce the brave act of the revolutionary youth and students as an "anti-social" act and as "an act of cowardice." When thousands of disciplined workers, students and youth took part in the actions in different parts of Calcutta and the suburbs on the evening of March 3, they raised revolutionary slogans and explained to tens of thousands the political significance of the work they were doing. Great care was taken to ensure that no harm was caused to even a single member of the audience or the staff

working in the different cinema houses. It was an immensely popular act. That is why, far from doing anything to oppose it, people in their hundreds of thousands applauded it. Even those who did not know why it was being done acclaimed it as an act of revolt against the existing rule that is stifling their lives. It is no doubt true that the revolutionary youth who took part in the actions are pledged to tear down Jyoti Basu's society—the society of a handful of oppressors and exploiters and their cowardly henchmen. This has once again demonstrated the truth that all reactionaries, including their revisionist henchmen and their police, are paper tigers. Despite the 'brave' assurance from the arch revisionist Police Minister and his gang, the reactionary film had to be withdrawn from the whole of West Bengal. The reactionary classes and their lackeys are in mortal fear : they may be gnashing their teeth but they well realize how powerless they are before the tide of revolution that threatens to sweep them away.

(7.3.70)

## A Few Words to the Revolutionary Students and Youths

( Continued from page 14 )

foster in the minds of Party comrades doubt, distrust and lack of confidence in one another, in the central revolutionary authority and in the revolutionary character of the broad masses of the people. "Doubt every one but yourself" is an anarchist slogan and runs counter to the theory of people's war, that is, Mao Tsetung Thought. This slogan has its roots in the bourgeois philosophy of self above everything, and has nothing in common with the philosophy of unconditional revolutionary sacrifice. This slogan befits a fascist organization and not a revolutionary Party like ours which bases itself on mass line. Doubtism also breeds poly-centrism.

You should destroy here and now the germs of this doubtist thinking and propaganda. Never belittle the harm caused by such thinking and propaganda, because if their germs are left to themselves they will, in times of storms and darkness gain strength and spread highly dangerous contagions and thus harm the revolution.

### Secretism Is Still Another Name of Revisionism Today

Revisionism is today carrying out its attack from the Right also. It is trying to give currency to the philosophy of inaction and cowardice in the name of maintaining secrecy. You—the students and youths—should never forget that a Communist always hates to hide his views. Maintaining secrecy means to keep secret only your connections with the Party. But you should always dare to express your views and actively resist injustice and indignity. You should be courageous and prepared to make sacrifices, because you are revolutionaries. Don't be worried about incurring unnecessary losses; leave that issue to be decided by the Party leadership.

Remember Chairman Mao's words: "It is infinite joy to pit oneself against heaven and earth."

Wherever you find the Party's prestige being tarnished or the red flag—the flag crimson with the blood of martyrs—being subjected to indignities, (no matter if it be the revisionists who fly it) you should oppose it tooth and nail even if you have to lay down your life for it. Never forget the glorious example of the thirteen heroic martyrs of Srikakulam.

### Everyone In Our Party Is A Revolutionary ; Only Revolutionaries And None Else Can Remain In Our Party

What do I mean when I say that we should be vigilant against the enemy agents in the Party? Wrong political thinking and wrong methods of work are the enemies and you should be vigilant and see that such thing do not get any indulgence whatsoever. No hidden counter-revolutionary can today stay for long in Chairman Mao's Party or will be able to worm his way to the Party leadership, nor can any non-revolutionary come in this Party. For this is the Party which does not offer any comforts or hope of self-aggrandizement. Ours is a country where the broad masses of the people are revolutionary. How can, therefore, our Party, enjoying as it does the support of millions of people, be a party of non-revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries?

Further, you should not forget that our Party was born out of armed class struggle and has been tempered and steeled in the flames of the revolutionary war. So, you should boldly and proudly assert, not once but repeatedly, that it is the central leadership of this Party—and only they—who have grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and are applying the same correctly in this country, and that none else understands or can possibly understand even the A B C of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

**Criticise Erroneous Work With the Sole  
Purpose of Strengthening This  
Revolutionary Party**

It is quite possible for the revolutionary workers to make mistakes. You should criticise their wrong actions in order to help the comrades, and to build the Party but you should never criticise so as to destroy the Party—a thing which we had to do in the old Party. The old Party was a revisionist party, a counter-revolutionary party, and so our criticism there was directed to destroy it; but the new party is a revolutionary Party, and so we make our criticism here with the sole purpose of building our Party. But if you find that mistakes are being made repeatedly, the first thing you should do is to investigate. In making this investigation you should also go to the masses outside the Party. Unless you do this you have no right to take decisions about anyone.

**Do Not Think of Our Party Forming  
Any United Front With Any Group**

Various groups mouthing different revolutionary slogans are seeking to form a united front with our Party. You, the revolutionary students and youths, should not allow yourselves to be misled by this. Never forget that the real united front can only be one for carrying on revolutionary armed struggle. To form united front on any other basis means opening wide the doors of our Party, the fighting Party of armed struggle, and allowing counter-revolution to flood it.

**To Integrate With the Peasants And Workers  
Is the Sole Hallmark of Revolutionary  
Students And Youths**

The students and youths can become revolutionaries only when they integrate themselves with the poor and

landless peasants and the workers, and not before that. And to be able to integrate it is necessary to take part in productive work and do manual labour.

**Cherish Firm Faith And Advance to Integrate**

I would ask the students and youths never to allow their firm faith in certain things to weaken.

Have faith in the revolutionary traditions of India. The history of our country is a history of heroic struggles.

Have faith in the masses. The broad masses of our people have always struggled against exploitation and oppression.

Have faith in yourselves. Remember you are part of the revolutionary people.

Have faith in Mao Tsetung Thought. It is Mao Tsetung Thought that is today, smashing the old world and building a new world.

Have faith in the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). This is the only Party that is applying Mao Tsetung Thought in our country and following the path crimson with the blood of thousands upon thousands of martyrs. This is why this Party can never take the wrong road.

So, you should have faith in the future.

**First Step Towards Integration : Go to the  
Villages In Large Numbers**

Form small squads of students of the schools and colleges in your locality. Each squad should have 4 or 5 students. Then make your programmes for going to the villages even when you have short holidays of only 4 or 5 days. No squad should be formed with girls alone. This is because girls would need some kind of shelter for spending the night. Each of you should take with him a copy of the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*. Take as little money with you as possible and other articles in a

kit-bag. Once you go to the village you are not to seek comforts and good food or shelter. Rather you should compete with one another in enduring hardships. You should not stop and stay at any one place other than for spending the night. You should always be on the move and go from one village to another walking fifteen miles a day on the average. During the journey make acquaintance only with the poor and landless peasants, learn from them, read out quotations of Chairman Mao to them and acquaint them with Mao Tsetung Thought as much as you can. Tell them of the heroic exploits of the revolutionary peasant war that is now raging in India.

You should remember that this work that you are doing as students and youths is one of open propaganda. So, never try to contact any Party organization or comrade of any area during this journey through the villages.

Make this campaign a festive occasion all over the country.

#### **Do Not Fail In the Most Important Test During This Campaign**

The poor and landless peasants of the villages will not at first take you seriously at all; moreover, their attitude towards you may even be rather unfriendly. It is natural that they should look upon you with distrust. But it will not do for you to become impatient or down-hearted at this, because this is the most important test you are required to go through. When you face it you should remember that the poor and landless peasant whom you come across today is the Babulal Biswakarmakar of tomorrow. In the days to come these poor and landless peasants will shine like bright stars giving inspiration and lighting up the way forward for the revolutionaries. So, you should be genuinely proud and consider yourselves fortunate in getting acquainted with them and

be sincerely respectful to them. Only when you have done this can you think of having passed your admission-test as revolutionaries.

#### **Start Building Red-Guard Organization And Integrating Yourselves With The Workers As Soon As You Return From the Village**

Our Party holds that the organization of the students and youths can only be a Red Guard organization. The students and youths should now organize Red Guard squads in *muhallas* [localities], and in schools and colleges. Make one of the squad members the commander and take a specific area for the squad's work. Assemble all the students and youths in the Red Guard squads.

The Red Guards of today will become later fighters of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of India. The PLA not only destroys the enemy on the battlefield but also propagates politics and ideology, helps the masses to establish revolutionary political power, arms them and takes part in their productive work. The Red Guards, however, will only carry on the struggle in the field of political propaganda, and mobilize the students and youths in support not only of the poor and landless peasants but also of the workers.

Whenever the workers in the cities launch any struggle or strike the Red Guards should rally behind them only to support their struggle. But the Red Guards are required not to express any opinion whatsoever about the workers' unions or the union leaders, nor will they make any speech. This support, this expression of solidarity of the students and youths will itself create considerable enthusiasm among the workers. The students and youths should first go to the workers. Later, the workers themselves will come to the schools and colleges and in the *muhallas* to tell stories of their struggles.

After this, the Red Guards should start doing intimate political propaganda among the workers, and building revolutionary cadres. Select one or two workers for this purpose. As soon as they accept the revolutionary politics bring them in contact with the Party.

In future, whenever there is any clash between the workers and the police, the Red Guards and the students and youths must rally in support of the workers and take part in the clash alongside them even if the Red Guards be only a few in number.

### **Start A Revolutionary Propaganda Campaign On the Widest Scale During This Summer Vacation Against the Imperialist Anti-China War-Plots**

The students and youths and the Red Guards have to shoulder today, a most important responsibility in carrying on revolutionary propaganda with a view to frustrating imperialist war plots. Go in your thousands among the peasant masses in the villages and among the working class in the cities during the ensuing summer vacation. Ours is the only Party in the world to declare boldly: "China's Chairman Is Our Chairman!" and to give the call: "Chairman's China may be attacked, so, let us hasten the work of revolution!" These are calls for struggle against bourgeois nationalism and its accomplice—revisio- nism. It is you who have to uphold and carry forward these two slogans through to the end by implementing them, till the imperialist war plots against China are burned to ashes in the flames of revolution.

You should repeatedly explain to the people that the imperialist powers are, today, exhausted, while the strength of the people are incomparably greater. This is why if the imperialists and social-imperialists launch their aggressive war against the great China and the revolutionary people of the world, the revolutionary war in our country will be less long-drawn than we had expected. It should also be

explained to the people that the so-called extraordinary power of the nuclear weapons is a sheer lie propagated by the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie knows well that it is not possible to prevent the revolutionary war from spreading with the help of their armed forces alone and that the only way to prevent it is to spread the poison of revisionist thinking. That is why you should spread the struggle against revisionism in an accelerated tempo. You should do it so that the masses realize that this is the time to deal blows to the enemy.

This great campaign should not be a temporary one then given up, because once the war starts bourgeois nationalism would again try to raise its head.

The students and youths of Bengal have a glorious tradition. So, if you carry out this task of yours conscientiously, I can assure you that the PLA will march in the sprawling plains of Bengal by the beginning of 1971, if not in 1970.

### **Red Guards Should Be Prepared to Meet Fascist Attacks In the Cities**

The Red Guards should always be prepared to counter-attack whenever other parties dare to attack our Party in the cities. This is very necessary.

### **Red Guards Should Adopt Guerrilla Methods In Launching Counter-Attacks**

Whenever the fascist hoodlums dare to attack us Red Guard groups—five or six Red Guards in a group—should launch counter-attacks from very close range, swiftly and without making any noise, and thus crush the morale of the fascist hoodlums.

